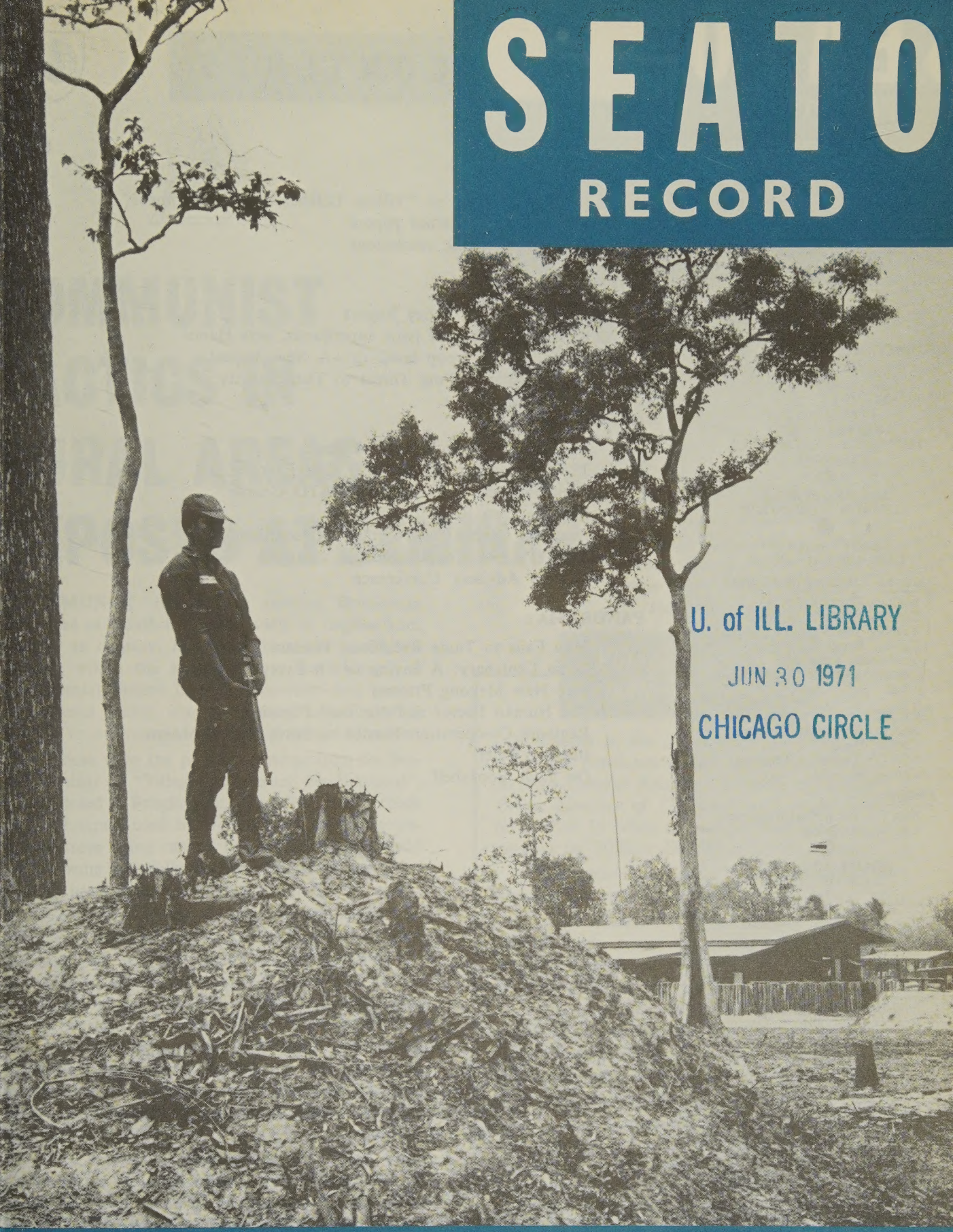
SEATO RECORD



U. of ILL. LIBRARY
JUN 30 1971
CHICAGO CIRCLE

. IX No. 2

il, 1970

- *VILLAGE DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT*
- *AUSTRALIA'S ROLE IN S.E. ASIA*
- *EXERCISE 'SEA ROVER'*

SEATO
RECORD

CONTENTS

	Page
GENERAL:	
Bangkok seminar on "Village Defence and Development"	3-12
Points from seminar papers	
Conclusions and resolutions	
FOREIGN AFFAIRS:	
Nixon's Foreign Policy Report	13-17
Paris talks: Prisoner issue superfluous, says Hanoi	17
Laos: Hanoi's troop build-up—A New Appeal	18-19
Developments Pose Threat to Thai Security	20
DEFENCE:	
Australian Plan to Develop Bases	21
25,000 Troops in 5-Power Far East Exercise	22
Senior Officers Take Part in SEATO Course	23
Exercise "Sea Rover"	24-26
Australia Cannot Adopt Policy of Isolation	29
SEATO's 15th Council Meeting arranged	31
Military Advisers' Conference	32-34
PANORAMA:	
Mao Fails to Tame Rebellious Tibetans	35
Lenin Centenary: A Saying to Fit Every Occasion	36-37
Five New Mekong Projects	40-41
The Human Factor and National Planning	42-43
Regional Co-operation Needed to Solve Rice Problems	45
Items in Brief	46
On Your Bookshelf	47

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

SEATO PROJECTS:

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

●

SEATO REGIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE

●

SEATO VEHICLE REBUILD WORKSHOP

●

SEATO SKILLED LABOUR PROJECTS:

Thailand—initiated by SEATO

Military Technical Training School, Bangkok.
Teacher Development Centre, Bangkok.
Vocational Training Centres located in 19 provincial cities.

Pakistan—

SEATO Technical Training Centre, Dacca.
SEATO Technical Training Centre, Karachi.

Philippines—

SEATO Vocational Training Centre, Marikina.

●

SEATO MEDICAL PROJECTS:

Thailand—

SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok.
SEATO Clinical Research Centre, Bangkok.

Pakistan—

Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca.

●

SEATO CULTURAL PROGRAMME

Under-Graduate Scholarships, Post Graduate Scholarships, Fellowships, Professorships. Literary Awards

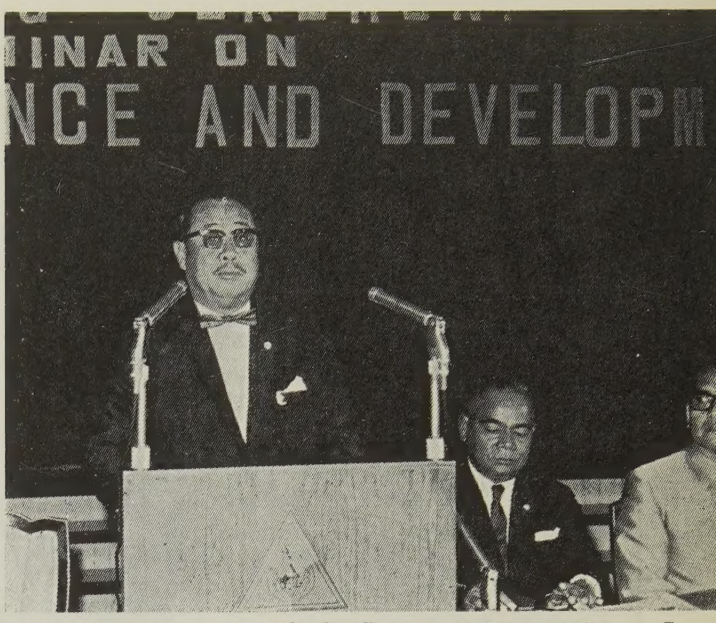
SEATO Record is published under the authority of the Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. Articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Organization or of individual governments. Unless otherwise expressly stated, all articles and statements may be reproduced. Signed articles may only be reproduced with the author's name.

COVER PICTURE:

A Village Defence Corps member standing at his post on the outskirts of Ban Nong Phok Yai, Wanon Niwat, NE Thailand, which was visited by participants to the Bangkok seminar on "Village Defence and Development".

"SEATO Record" is published six times a year. Inquiries from official and private organizations, educational institutions, libraries etc., are welcomed and should be addressed to the Public Information Office, SEATO Headqaurters P.O. Box 517 Bangkok, Thailand.

COMMUNIST TACTICS IN RURAL AREAS EXPOSED AT SEMINAR



Thailand's Deputy Prime Minister General Prapass Charusathira pictured opening the seminar. Seated are Gen. Surakij Mayalarp, Seminar Director (Thailand), and Brig. Gen. R.H. Purnomo, (Indonesia).

COMMUNIST activities in remote, developing areas of South-East Asia vary in degree from country to country, and even from one locality to another within the same country, but there is a fundamental pattern in their subversive and terroristic tactics which aim at creating armed conflict leading to an eventual Communist seizure of power.

These were the points to emerge from the five-day seminar on "Village Defence and Development", which closed in Bangkok on March 20. The methods and techniques used by Communists, and the counter-measures being carried out by various free-world governments were fully discussed by participants from the ten nations represented at seminar.

Seminar Director General Surakij Mayalarp (Thailand) pointed out in his closing remarks that although the seminar could not be expected to produce resolutions immediately applicable to all situations owing to differing circumstances prevailing in the various countries affected by Communist subversion and insurgency, "nevertheless, each participating country can reap benefits from the ideas and experiences gained in this seminar by adapting them from practical application to their local conditions."

The seminar, sponsored by the Royal Thai Government, originated from the concern felt by participating governments for the security problems affecting the rural areas of South-East Asian countries particularly vulnerable to Communist subversion.

'Villages are the main targets'

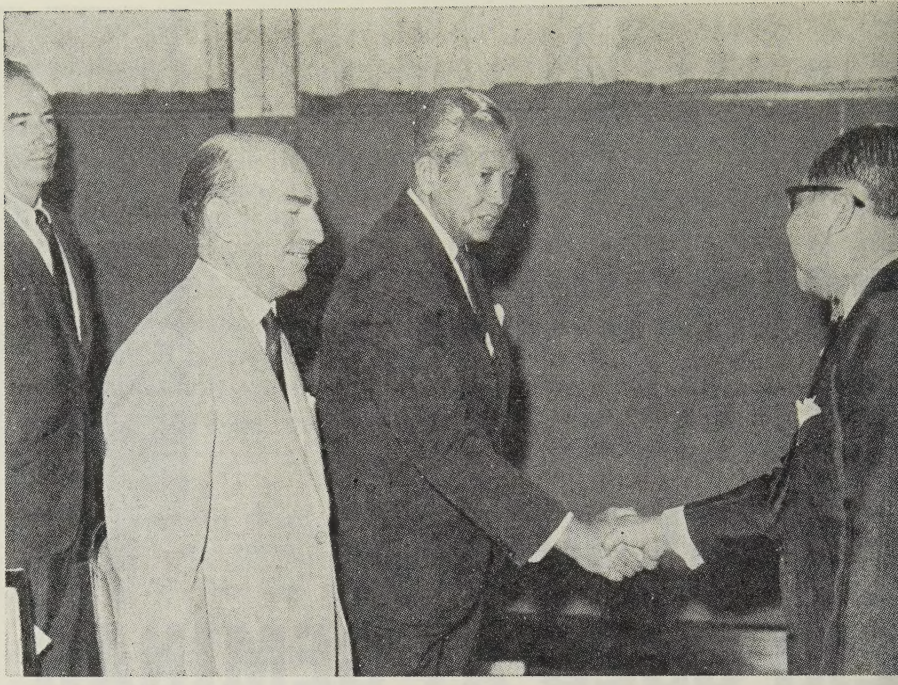
A solution to the problem of village defence and development was the key to national security, General Prapass Charusathira, Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, said in Bangkok on March 16 when he inaugurated a five-day seminar on "Village Defence and Development".

He made it clear that the villages in remote areas were the Communists' main targets.

The seminar was, said General Prapass, one of many ways "which will bring about fruitful recommendations in defence and suppression of the Communists".

Because of the dangerous Communist threat in South-East Asia it was necessary for the free world's nations to share their resources in every possible way "to contain the Communist expansion and put an end to it".

"If the administration takes the problems and issues of the village level as special priorities in their policy guidance, it will enhance the country's security, for it is better to work down from high level of the society to the village level," said General Prapass.



● *Thailand's Deputy Prime Minister, General Prapass Charusathira, shakes hands with SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas at the inauguration of the seminar. Mr. Robert Hyslop, Deputy Secretary-General, stands next to General Vargas, and Mr. Paul Eckel, Deputy Seminar Director, is on the left of the picture.*

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

THE following participants submitted papers with their recommendations regarding defence measures and the development of greater mutual confidence between villagers and officials.—

AUSTRALIA

Lt. Col. P.C. Gration,
CO. 1st Australian Civil Affairs Unit in Vietnam.

INDONESIA

Brigadier General R.H. Purnomo,
Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Security,
CIC Indonesian Armed Forces.

KOREA

Maj. Gen. Han Moo Hyup,
Director of Intelligence (J-2).

MALAYSIA

Mr. C. C. Too,
Head of Psychological Warfare Section,
Prime Minister's Department.

NEW ZEALAND

Lt. Col. John Airth Mace, M.B.E.
Director of Infantry and SAS Army HQ

PHILIPPINES

Mr. Maximino de Guzman of the Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD).

THAILAND

Dr. Winyu Angkanarak,
Deputy Director-General,
Department of Local Administration.

UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. Douglas Hyde,
A former Communist now actively involved in exposing Communism.

UNITED STATES

Dr. George K. Tanham,
Minister-Counsellor of Counter Insurgency,
U.S. Embassy, Bangkok.

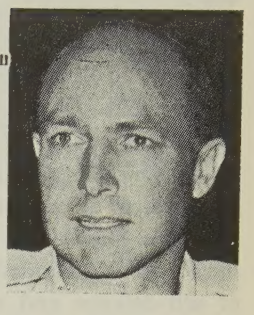
VIETNAM

Maj. Gen. Cao Hao Hon,
Special Assistant to the Prime Minister.

Dr. Winyu Angkanarak was elected Seminar Chairman. Lt. Col. Gration, General Han and Mr. Too were elected Vice-Chairmen.

Points from Seminar papers

CIVIC ACTION BEAT THE VIETCONG



● **Lt. Col. P.C. Gration, Commanding Officer, 1st Australian Civil Affairs Unit in Vietnam, on "Civic Action"—**

THE value of civic action as an essential part of counter-insurgency operations was confirmed by the Australian experience in Vietnam, said Colonel Gration. He described Australian civic action efforts in Phuoc Tuy Province.

Starting in 1966 with one officer and a small group of men, these efforts were now being carried out by over 300 officers and men from all units of the Australian Task Force. On a normal working day parties of Australian soldiers were working in villages throughout the province on projects ranging from road construction to medical care and youth organization.

"There is good evidence," Col. Gration reported, "that the Vietcong are finding it increasingly difficult to keep the support of the people in areas that have had heavy doses of civic action."

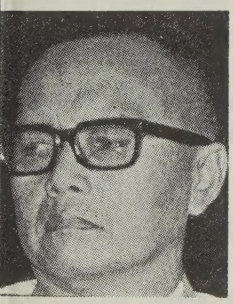
Phuoc Tuy was virtually under Vietcong control when the Australian troops arrived there five years ago. Since then security had steadily improved and at present soldiers and villagers could continue their work in the day time with minimum protection.

Improved security needed to be accompanied by considerable developmental efforts to return the community to normal life. "Civic action alone cannot achieve this but it does help to create a situation whereby people can see a better life ahead. With better roads, better markets, better public utilities and better schools, some of the grievances of the people could be satisfied."

Col. Gration also made it clear that if it was to achieve maximum effectiveness, a civic action programme must be based on a "thorough understanding in depth of the local situation, that it must be identified with the government, and fully integrated with and complementary to military operations.

Each project undertaken under the programme should be what the people themselves urgently wanted and were eager and willing to participate in. "If they want it, they'll move mountains to achieve it," he said.

VALUE OF TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT



● **Brig.-Gen. R.H. Purnomo, Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Security, CIC Indonesian Armed Forces, on "The Village Life Development as a Base for the National Defence and Development".**

THE gap between resources and demand in nation building caused a second gap: that between national aspirations and actual potential which in turn was a prime source of instability, internal then external.

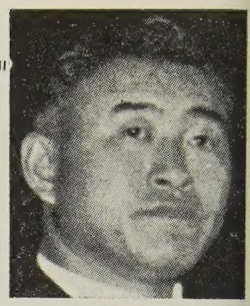
The initial gap could be almost closed if developed nations would give sufficient aid to the developing countries of Asia with no strings and with no interference in the internal affairs of such countries. An unstable Asia meant an unstable world. And a stable secure Indonesia—with her strategic geographical position, rich national resources and large population—was vital to Asia.

Also vice versa: internal development depended on "national endurance" or security of the nation—in Indonesia primarily that of the rural areas which constituted 80 per cent of the nation. Security there was obtained by "territorial management", i.e. armed forces projects (civic missions) aimed at the people's welfare which channelled the demands of the area and people towards self-reliance.

Civic missions in Indonesia were not only security—oriented, but were a permanent welfare task for the army so as to avoid the build-up of frustration in each region and lack of involvement of the people in "national endurance". To these were added territorial operations: the division of a region into compartments down to village level to produce local intelligence, combat and logistic capacities.

The capacity for self-reliance of the stable rural areas—in co-operation with the administration as co-ordinator of government policies, such as the present Five Year Plan (1969-73)—would determine territorial security. ➡

FAMILIES RE-SETTLED FOR DEFENCE



● **Maj.-Gen. Han Moo Hyup, Director of Intelligence, Republic of Korea, on "Measures to Protect Vulnerable Areas"—**

COMMANDO-type attacks by North Koreans and their ruthless infiltration techniques, such as the execution of people who refused to sign applications to join the Korean Communist Party, had been an ever-present danger faced by South Korea for many years.

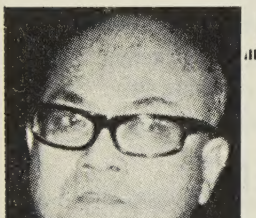
One of the key measures undertaken by the government in countering this situation had been to assemble families in remote hill areas, along the coastlines and on isolated islands into villages more capable of self-defence and more tactically situated for defensive action by government forces.

At the same time, accelerated road-building and communications projects had been and were being carried out to establish contact between villages and facilitate employment of government troops in the event of an emergency. Where transport was still difficult 'signal jump teams' were maintained at provincial level to come to the rescue of villages under attack. A number of helicopter pads had also been built in recent years to further ensure rapid movement of defence forces.

These direct measures of physical protection against armed incursions had been going forward alongside development schemes. Families which had been grouped into tactical villages were provided with new permanent homes and means of livelihood including land, livestock, farm equipment, seeds and fertilizer. Exemption from taxes and free rations were among the benefits offered by the government until the family should become settled and self-supporting.

Although in Korea the battle for the hearts and minds of the people might not pose as great a problem as in some other South-East Asian countries, psychological operations were nevertheless considered necessary and by no means neglected. Public information programmes conducted by government teams contained a balanced mixture of positive, entertainment, and exposure material.

USING MAO'S STRATEGY AGAINST TERRORISTS



● **Mr. C.C. Too, Head of Psychological Warfare Section of the Malaysian Prime Minister's Dept., on "An Analysis of the Problems of Village Defence and Development"—**

THE way in which the problem was recognised, identified and defined, provided the key to the olpicies, methods and measures for tackling the problem. In the counter-insurgency situation in any place, including the rural villages, three categories of persons played the major roles—the people, the insurgents and the government forces.

A thorough understanding of the people, the insurgents and government machinery provided the necessary basic data for the formulation of policy and operational planning.

The basic strategy should be firstly to contain the operational areas so as to prevent insurgency from spreading further; then to cut the enemy within the insurgency area into separate groups; isolate them and pin them down, so that maximum concentration of forces could be brought to bear to attack and annihilate the isolated insurgent groups one by one according to priority.

This was actually putting into practice Mao Tse-tung's strategy against the Communist terrorists. Optimally insurgency should not be allowed to go beyond the guerrilla warfare stage, because if the further stages of mobile warfare and positional (conventional) warfare were reached, it would be very much more difficult to tackle the problem.

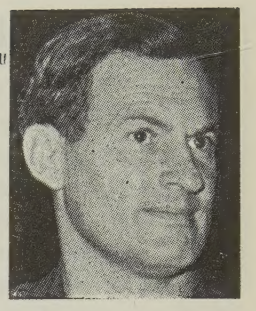
An important point to be borne in mind was that unless the authorities were

(i) in possession of reasonable force, strength and facilities; and

(ii) determined to completely free a locality or area from the terrorists and to occupy a disputed locality or area on a long-term basis; they might not succeed.

They should not launch any major operation in the locality or area for short durations of only a few months and then withdraw leaving a vacuum in the locality for the terrorists to return and victimize the local population, especially those who had helped the authorities. The consequence of this was that the local population would completely lose any confidence in the government in future. ➡

THE NEED TO ISOLATE THE INSURGENTS



● **Lt. Col. J. A. Mace, M.B.E., of New Zealand, on "The Comparative Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Military Units, Police and Armed Villagers for Village Protection"—**

THE fundamental aim behind the need for village protection was to isolate the insurgents, both hysically and politically from the population. Only hen this isolation had been effected could military perations against insurgent units achieve lasting re-ılts as it would no longer be possible for the insur-ents to replace their casualties by new recruits from ıe villages and their units would have to break up nd disperse in order to live.

The protection of the village from external at-ıck and internal subversion was a basic requirement their isolation from the insurgents was to be achieved. his protection must necessarily start at the hamlet vel and the best use must be made of all peace eeping forces available to meet this immediate need.

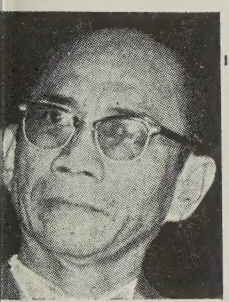
When this situation had been achieved the full eight of the regular and allied military forces could e deployed against the insurgent forces.

Basically, the immediate defence of a hamlet equired the physical protection of the hamlet by day nd night, the protection of the population working n the village environs; the ability to obtain and isseminate intelligence; communications to request round and fire support, and the ability to communicate hamlet to hamlet, hamlet to village and village to district.

The protection of the population could not be solely a matter of grouping a number of hamlets together within a strong defensive perimeter. Other aspects to be considered were the build-up of community spirit; the ability of the villagers to farm their land free from interference; the will to get rid of the insurgents; the improvement of education, and a general wish by the people to improve their living standards.

If the peace-keeping forces and government could co-operate with and assist the people in achieving these ends, then the result could only be a population isolated by choice from insurgents, and a national will to defeat the insurgency.

CLDP ACHIEVING RESULTS



● **Mr. Maximino B. De Guzman, of the Presidential Arm on Community Development, on "The Role of the Philippine Development Programmes"—**

THERE were nine broad priorities to achieve objectives under the Central Luzon Development rogramme. These concerned land reform, agricultural roductivity, public works and water resources devel-pment, health, education and school building, speedy dministration of justice, promotion of trade and com-nerce, labour and social welfare and peace and order hrough civic action.

The CLDP, as a counter-measure against internal ubversion and to promote internal security, was gain-ng momentum and achieving results. In spite of limited esources, it kept moving toward its desired goals. Accomplishments under the nine different broad pri-rities had more than proved that substantial and angible measures had been provided for the econmic nd social needs of the people in the region, such as increased agricultural productivity, improved public work facilities, accelerated health services etc.

More than these projects combined, were the intangible results—the people had now shown increasing participation in government affairs and a discernible return of faith and confidence in the democratic form of government.

Significant changes toward the idea of self-help had been occurring; promotion of closer co-ordination and integration of the services of the government agencies; harmonious relationship among agencies were distinctly delineated, doing away with petty jealousies; and the programme had elicited greater involvement of the private, civic and religious organisations in the region.

It had demonstrated to the people the government's sincere efforts to alleviate their living conditions.

With the assignment of field personnel in places of operations and with the continuous dialogue between the people and government representatives, the gap between the government and the people had been substantially bridged and narrowed down to an appreciable extent. ➡

SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMMES CUT TERRORISM

● **Mr. Winyu Angkanarak, Deputy Director, Dept. of Local Government, Ministry of the Interior, Thailand, on the dual task of counter-insurgency and development—**

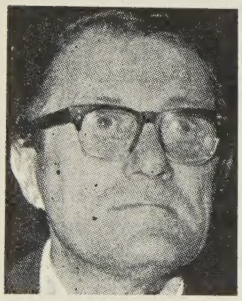
SINCE 1961-62 a wide variety of programmes had been initiated by the Royal Thai Government to provide protection and a better standard of living for inhabitants of isolated areas, particularly in north and north-eastern parts of the country—the declared prime target of Communist stepped-up activities whether in the form of propaganda, subversion, infiltration, terrorism, or armed struggle.

These dual-purpose programmes were carried out by several agencies, some of which were specifically created for the purpose, including the National Security Command, the Office of Accelerated Rural Development, the Communist Suppression Operations Command, the Department of Community Development, the Department of Local Government, and Provincial and Border Patrol Police.

All levels of the administrative system were involved, from governor to village headman, and in general there had been a close co-operation between the military, civilian and police arms in programme implementation.

According to statistics, Communist terrorist operations had been on the decrease in some areas as a direct result of successful implementation of one or more of these programmes, and what the Communists did promise the people—better health, better education, and so forth—were being promoted by government teams of development workers, a fact which had rendered them less vulnerable to Communist persussion.

The government, however, continued to call for greater efforts on the part of all concerned. Emphasis was placed on two factors on which might well depend the success or failure of a counter-insurgency and or development project: the relationship between officials and villagers, and participation of villagers in their own affairs.



COMMUNISTS' TWO-PRONG ATTACK

● **Mr. Douglas Hyde, United Kingdom, on "The Appeal and Methods used by Communists to Obtain Support from Villagers and Rural Minority Groups"—**

ANY study of those areas where Communism had succeeded in establishing itself in recent years inevitably led to the backward jungle villages, to ethnic minorities living in remote areas and to hill tribes geographically and culturally isolated from the main centres of population.

In such areas and to such people, the Communists' appeal must be different from that made to the proletariat of the cities. Yet one principle of Communist propaganda and practice held good in both cases; the appeal was invariably two-fold—economic and "ethical". The first was to people's natural desire to improve their material and physical conditions, and the other was directed at their emotions, to their pride of group, their fear of foreign domination, their desire for freedom.

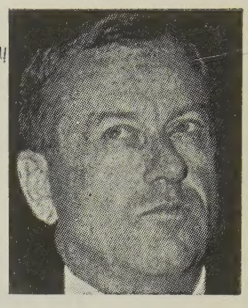
To obtain support from villagers and minority groups, the Communists most often conformed to the same pattern. They would make sympathetic personal contact with the headman, chief, elder or community leader and try to win his favour by identifying themselves with his own hopes, grievances and perhaps traditional antipathies.

After this initial contact, the Communists would return to the village, possibly accompanied by other cadres who were able to establish themselves with the people. They would provide some form of health or social service and make promises of education for the young or tractors, seeds and implements for the people.

Then they would seek to get the villagers involved in some form of militant action which might be expected to bring punishment from the government. After clashes with security forces, involving killings, the people would be urged to form a defence force.

Some of the most robust of the young men would be sent for training in guerrilla warfare. Others would be selected as future political leaders who could operate, after training, as parallel leaders to the headman or as alternative leaders where the headman proved to be unresponsive to Communist wooing. ➡

INFORMATION PLAN MUST BEGIN EARLY



● **Dr. George K. Tanham, United States, on "Some Considerations for a Village Information Programme"—**

INFORMATION techniques by themselves would not solidify any village defence system, nor would they make superfluous all the other manifestations and responsibilities of good government. It was precisely because a villager felt that an existing government was not responsive to his needs, or actually victimized him, that he resorted to open hostility.

Representatives of the central authority must exercise their mandate as wisely and fairly as they possibly could and then look on information programmes as a complementary tool enabling the citizenry to learn more about the government's concern and actual achievements.

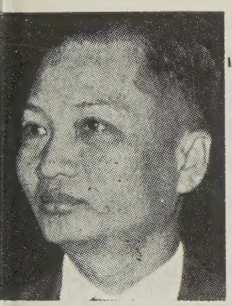
An information programme, for example, no matter how vigorous and militant, could not substitute for the lack of security in a village. If the government did not control the village at night the citizens knew it, and no amount of propaganda would convince them differently. To be effective propaganda could not lie, or at least it could not afford to be caught at it, and the chances of a lie such as this remaining viable were non-existent.

It perished in the first ambush, the first case where a village questioned the government's ability to provide for its safety.

The information programme without the substance of demonstrable governmental exertions for the benefit of those it governed became, at best, a hollow facade, and at worst a short-fused bomb likely to explode in the hands of those who flourished it.

An information programme should not be merely a reaction to insurgent initiatives. To be truly effective such a programme must begin early, before insurgent elements could plant the seeds of active opposition.

DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY UNDER PD PLAN



● **Maj. Gen. Cao Hoa Hon, General Assistant to Vietnam's Prime Minister, on "The Strategic Hamlet National Policy to the Pacification and Development Plan"—**

THE 1969 Pacification and Development (PD) Plan in Vietnam came out as an extension of the previous years' Revolutionary Development plans. This plan phased implementation of national policy with emphasis on tight co-ordination between related agencies and the achievement of specific objectives.

Of special note in the 1969 PD Plan was the creation of the principle of community co-operation and eight objectives; covering security for the people; the elimination of the Vietcong insurgents; the establishment of local government; the organisation of the Popular Self-Defence Forces; Chieu Hoi; refugees; information; and rural economy.

These objectives aimed at ensuring security for 90 per cent of the people, consolidating local government machinery, stabilizing and raising the standard of living for the people in the villages and hamlets.

Beginning at the end of 1968 and parallel to the Revolutionary Development Plan, an accelerated pacification campaign was launched in order to extend control to a maximum number of people and a maximum ground area in the minimum amount of time as the situation dictated.

At the end of 1969, a special plan was also implemented to give added thrust to the implementation of these objectives to maximize results in every field.

At of the end of 1969 the PD Plan had succeeded in controlling and securing 10,094 hamlets with a population of 17,067,794 people, compared with the national total of 10,706 hamlets with a population of 17,511,415 people.

The strength of the PD Plan was to take advantange of the Communist defeat in military and political fields, to fully expand the secure areas to control the entire territory and bring security to 100 per cent of the national population, in the meantime improving the people's living conditions in every field under various development programmes.

Especially in developing democracy, the PD Plan had emphasized the establishment of democratic structures in local areas and the decentralization of power.

CONCLUSIONS

● *In a plenary session on March 20, the seminar participants agreed on the following conclusions which were based on all papers submitted and discussions held—*

The appeal and methods used by the subversive elements to obtain support from villagers and rural minority groups:

IN the developing nations the predominant Communist theories of subversion and guerrilla warfare have been those of Mao Tse-tung and the late Che Guevara. Soviet theories of proletarian revolution have been largely discredited.

The Communists continue to place emphasis on rural revolutions as the primary means of strangling the economies of the cities and are exploiting as bases for revolution primitive and neglected areas, and areas with inequitable land tenure system.

Communist patterns of subversion designed to create armed conflict in many of the more primitive regions are:

- Despatch cadres to areas where there are good grounds for discontent among village peoples.
- Set up revolutionary organizations among the peasants.
- Provoke conflicts with the land-owners and incite assassinations of government officials thereby involving the people in breaking the law.
- Create "leaders" out of those who have played a primary role in ambushing government forces and assassinating government officials.
- Persuade the people they need defence forces to safeguard themselves against government retaliation.
- Establish a secure base area in the jungle or mountains from which to operate and make forays against centres of population and government outposts.
- Link together the secure base areas by expanding influence around the bases.

The Communists exploit sociological factors which often exist in village communities in the following ways:

- Convince the villager that the government authorities are only concerned in interfering and preventing traditional pursuits and are imposing burdensome restrictions and taxation on the people of the villages.
- Exploit every failure of the local government officials to break the villagers' respect for law.
- Blame every economic ailment on the government and stress that material aid is not forthcoming to the villager because those in authority are unsympathetic and disinterested.
- Convince the villager that the lack of schools and teachers is evidence of the government's ineptness in meeting the educational needs of primitive and rural folk.

The Communists are now giving considerable thought to the idea of utilizing the urban "riff-raff" in terrorist campaigns. It is necessary, therefore, to consider carefully the problems of the urban slums whose conditions in many senses can be likened to that of primitive neglected villages.

The counter-appeal of the Government and the methods of propagation:

Pay special attention to the needs, traditions and culture of all ethnic minorities.

Resort more to the use of the face-to-face method of getting to know and understand the rural communities:

Assist the village communities to combat illiteracy and thereby improve the standard of living.

Provide facilities and instructors to develop the use of a national language without requiring that the use of the local *lingua franca* be discontinued.

Assist the villagers to develop an integrated defence system which will not leave him isolated.

Share the villagers' lives with them without adopting an authoritarian attitude.

Use the religion of the community to counter the basically atheistic doctrines of Communism.

Recruit and train the local people, who understand their own communities, to supervise their own local administration; should these rural people be too primitive, such as some of the hill tribal peo-

➡

CONCLUSIONS

ple, "outsiders" may be brought in, but only those who have been trained in the local language and customs.

Methods used and problems encountered by the authorities in the gathering and effective utilization of information and intelligence:

Local village headmen and other local officials must be trained to become responsible information agents.

Local village officials must also be a channel for the distribution of information from local government officials to the people so that the villager may feel himself to be an integral part of his country's efforts to eliminate Communist subversives.

The information received by local government officers must be carefully sifted and appraised so as not to over-react by taking precipitous action against a villager because it appears he is co-operating with the Communists.

Adequate inducements for intelligence collection and reporting should be provided.

Maximum use should be made of surrendered insurgents to support, check and improve the information gathering processes.

Wherever possible local characteristics of the village, such as the feeling of resentment towards strangers, should be fully exploited.

Research on captured enemy documents should be carefully conducted for intelligence purposes.

The comparative advantages and disadvantages of using military units, police and armed villagers for village protection

Combined military/armed villager units can be used as a successful means of village protection. The villagers should be recruited and used only in their own local areas.

The police may be used as a field force, but care must be taken to ensure they are well-trained, highly motivated and prepared to co-operate with local authorities.

A military presence is often necessary to maintain pressure against local Communist terrorists. Once the terrorists have been eliminated and the village made secure army units can be removed.

There is an inherent danger in telling villagers responsible for their own protection that relief forces are available if these forces cannot reach the village in time to provide relief. Local confidence in the government's ability to live up to its commitments may be seriously jeopardized. Relief forces should be stationed within a reasonable distance in order to react promptly to an attack.

The establishment of priority areas where sustained and concentrated pressure can be mounted by military forces is an effective method of destroying terrorists.

Comprehensive rural development and counter insurgency:

Civic action in the military context must be applied on a continuing basis and must be based on the interested involvement of the villagers themselves.

While military resources can support civilian development, it is necessary for the military personnel involved to be trained in all aspects of community development and for them to work in close co-operation with all civil instrumentalities.

Medicine is utilized by the Communists as a means of establishing contacts and winning the people to their cause. Likewise the government may use it for the same purpose. Personnel should be trained, therefore, to dispense medical assistance in primitive areas and conduct campaigns to improve health in the villages.

The first priority in a comprehensive rural development/CSI programme is the establishment of security. Secondly, the land situation must be investigated closely and necessary land reforms should be treated as urgent. Bringing jungle and other virgin land under cultivation and the voluntary resettlement of land-hungry families should be treated as top priorities. Thirdly, economic and social changes should be devised not merely to demonstrate that the government can come to a village occasionally and build a school or distribute seeds. The government should ensure a continued awareness of changes in the aspirations of the people which may result from such visits. It should seek to involve the people in further moves for changes.

If the drive for the betterment of the peoples' living conditions is to be maintained there must be a genuine improvement in the lot of the people along with their security. To make this possible grass roots initiative must be encouraged so that there is leadership and understanding coming from both above and below. ➡

CONCLUSIONS

The task of developing dedicated, responsible and dynamic village leaders and the fostering of a spirit of mutual aid and public service should be seen as among the foremost aims of rural development.

Approaches to information, re-settlement and the evaluation of government efforts:

Voice aircraft are valuable for rapid tactical exploitation of information gained.

It is important to investigate ways and means of improving the village income in idle or off season periods.

Compulsory re-settlement should be employed as a last resort.

Some method of village or hamlet evaluation should be implemented to permit a better understanding areas of weakness and thus facilitate corrective action.

Clear lines of communications must be maintained between the rural development authority centre and the villages involved to ensure that emerging frustrations can be channelled into useful self-help projects.

Care must be exercised in civic action projects to avoid the government becoming involved in a "development competition" with subversive elements because in such cases the insurgent groups may be able to claim credit for the government programmes.

In any new development programme advance planning and research on the psychological effect of such a programme on the villagers is necessary.

The danger of a policy which merely responds to Communist-instigated crises is that friendly villages' needs may be neglected in favour of those in insecure areas.

The selection, recruitment, and training of village leaders:

In the selection of village leaders, due regard should be paid to traditional attitudes and culture.

Care should be taken, therefore, to ensure that the right people are recruited as leaders. Sufficient incentives, including monetary and on a regular basis should be provided for village leaders and officials.

The youth in the villages are a cause for particular concern. Often they lack employment opportunities in their own villages and are thus left at a loose end which encourages unruly behaviour. Such youths are easy targets for Communist subversion and therefore the training of politically sound youth leaders is most important.

Village leaders must be given sufficient status and power within their villages. This applies in particular to villages under threat of Communist attacks. Thus village leaders should, if possible, be in command of their own village defence forces.

In a situation of a village leadership vacuum caused by terrorist assassination and intimidation the first essential is to provide good security for the village. Strong government forces may have to remain within the village for at least three months or more. Secondly, a campaign must be mounted to eliminate the Communists' infra-structure within the village; and thirdly, a concentrated psychological campaign must be mounted to build up morale in the villages, so that they will be prepared to accept positions of authority.

RESOLUTIONS

ON the basis of the conclusions reached in the seminar it was resolved that:

Another seminar be held in 1971 on the same subject in order to give future participants an opportunity to study and discuss in more detail the conclusions reached in the 1970 seminar.

Any future seminar focus greater attention on the role of governments in countries faced with subversion and insurgency and on the most practical ways of dealing with these problems especially in those remote village communities so vulnerable to Communist pressures and intimidation. Any such seminar should include among its participants some young government officials and village leaders.

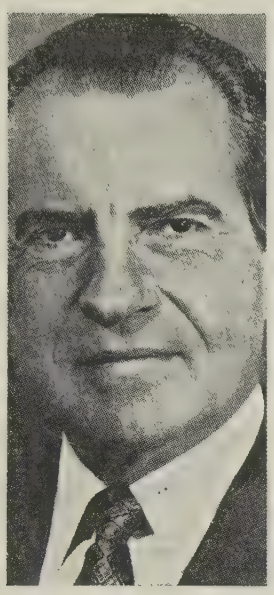
The host government for a future seminar invite and encourage those countries most interested in sending experts who may be able to contribute their knowledge and experience in combatting subversion and insurgency within the countries of South-East Asia.

The host government present well in advance of the date of a future seminar topics and guidelines for use by participants.

The host government devise a means of exchanging, among the participants, who attend seminars information, experiences and lessons learned.

Foreign Affairs

Nixon's Foreign Policy Report to Congress



IN his foreign policy report to Congress in February, President Nixon said that the United States would participate in the defence and development of allies and friends, but that America "cannot—and will not—conceive all the plans, design all the programmes, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defence of the free nations of the world." He said: "We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest."

The President continued: "America cannot live in isolation if it expects to live in peace. We have no intention of withdrawing from the world. The only issue before us is how we can be most effective in meeting our responsibilities, protecting our interests, and thereby building peace.

"A more responsible participation by our foreign friends in their own defence and progress means a more effective common effort toward the goals we all seek. Peace in the world will continue to require us to maintain our commitments—and we will. As I said at the United Nations, 'It is not my belief that the way to peace is by giving up our friends or letting down our allies'. But a more balanced and realistic American role in the world is essential if American commitments are to be sustained over the long pull..."

'We remain involved in Asia'

DEALING with the situation in Asia and the Pacific, Mr. Nixon said that three times in a generation, Americans had been called upon to cross the Pacific and fight in Asia. "No region of the world has more engaged our energies in the postwar period. No continent has changed more rapidly or with greater complexity since World War II. Nowhere has the failure to create peace been more costly or led to greater sacrifice," he said.

He continued: "America's Asian Policy for the 1970's must be based on the lessons of this sacrifice. Does it mean that the United States should withdraw from Asian affairs? If not, does it mean that we are condemned to a recurring cycle of crisis and war in a changing setting beyond the understanding or influence of outsiders?

Our answers to these questions provide the concepts behind this administration's approach to Asia. First, we remain involved in Asia. We are a Pacific power. We have learned that peace for us is much less likely if there is no peace in Asia.

Second, behind the headlines of strife and turmoil, the fact remains that no region contains a greater diversity of vital and gifted peoples, and thus a greater potential for co-operative enterprises. Constructive nationalism and economic progress since World War II have strengthened the new nations of Asia internally. A growing sense of Asian identity and concrete action toward Asian co-operation are creating a new and healthy pattern of international relationships in the region. Our Asian friends, especially Japan, are in a position to shoulder larger responsibilities for the peaceful progress of the area. Thus, despite its troubled past, Asia's future is rich in promise. That promise has been nurtured in part by America's participation.

Third, while we will maintain our interests in Asia and the commitments that flow from them, the changes taking place in that region enable us to change the character of our involvement. The responsibilities once borne by the United States at such great cost

➡

'U.S. TO KEEP TREATY COMMITMENTS'

can now be shared. America can be effective in helping the peoples of Asia harness the forces of change to peaceful progress, and in supporting them as they defend themselves from those who would subvert this process and fling Asia again into conflict.

Our friends in Asia have understood and welcomed our concept of our role in that continent. Those with whom the Vice President, the Secretary of State and I spoke during our visits there agreed that this was the most effective way in which we can work together to meet the military challenges and economic opportunities of the new Asia.

Our new co-operative relationship concerns primarily two areas of challenge—military threats, and the great task of development.

Our important interests and those of our friends are still threatened by those nations which would exploit change and which proclaim hostility to the United States as one of the fundamental tenets of their policies. We do not assume that these nations will always remain hostile, and will work toward improved relationships wherever possible. But we will not underestimate any threat to us or our allies, nor lightly base our present policies on untested assumptions about the future.

At the beginning of my trip last summer through Asia, I described at Guam the principles that underlie our co-operative approach to the defence of our common interests. In my speech on November 3, I summarized key elements of this approach.

- The United States will keep all its treaty commitments.
- We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security and the security of the region as a whole.
- In cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defence.

This approach requires our commitment to helping our partners develop their own strength. In doing so, we must strike a careful balance. If we do too little to help them—and erode their belief in our commitments—they may lose the necessary will to conduct their own self-defence or become disheartened about prospects of development. Yet, if we do too much, and American forces do what local forces can and should be doing, we promote dependence rather than independence.

In providing for a more responsible role for Asian nations in their own defence, the Nixon Doctrine means not only a more effective use of common resources, but also an American policy which can best be sustained over the long run.

The partnership we seek involves not only defence. Its ultimate goal must be equally close cooperation over a much broader range of concerns—

➡

A NEW DEFINITION OF "PEACE"

DURING his report to Congress, Mr. Nixon gave a new definition of "PEACE"—

- *Peace requires confidence—it needs the cement of trust among friends.*
- *Peace requires partnership—or else we will exhaust our resources, both physical and moral, in a futile effort to dominate our friends and forever isolate our enemies.*
- *Peace must be just. It must answer man's dream of human dignity.*
- *Peace requires strength. It cannot be based on good will alone.*
- *Peace must be generous. No issue can be truly settled unless the solution brings mutual advantage.*
- *Peace must be shared. Other nations must feel that it is* **their** *peace just as we must feel that it is* **ours**.
- *And peace must be practical. It can only be found when nations resolve real issues, and accommodate each other's real interests. This requires not high rhetoric, but hard work.*

'Asian hands must shape Asian future'

conomic as well as political and military. For in that lose co-operation with our Asian friends lies our mutual commitment to peace in Asia and the world.

Our goal must be particularly close co-operation or economic development. Here, too, our most effective contribution will be to support Asian initiatives in an Asian framework.

Our partnership will rest on the solid basis of Asia's own wealth of human and material resources. Acting jointly, its peoples offer each other a wide range of energy and genius. Their benefits shared, its and and products can overcome the unmet needs which have often sparked conflict. Already, the Republics of Korea and China, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia can show a doubling of their gross national product in the last decade. Korea's annual growth ate of 15 per cent may be the highest in the world: he Republic of China, no longer an economic aid ecipient, now conducts a technical assistance programme of its own in 27 other countries.

Regional reconstruction

Thus, the potential for co-operation among Asian countries is strong, and progress is already apparent. New multi-national organizations are sharing agricultural and technical skills. When the war n Vietnam is ended, reconstruction can be carried out in a regional context. And we look forward to continued co-operation with a regional effort to harness he power of the Mekong river.

The successful start of the Asian Development Bank, of which we are a member, illustrates the potential of Asian initiatives and regionalism. It is an Asian institution, with a requirement that the bank's president, seven of its ten directors, and 60 per cent of its capital come from Asia.

Our hopes for Asia are thus for a continent of strong nations drawing together for their mutual benefit on their own terms, and creating a new relationship with the rest of the international community.

Japan, as one of the great industrial nations of he world, has a unique and essential role to play n the development of the new Asia. Our policy oward Japan during the past year demonstrates our onception of the creative partnership we seek with ll Asian nations...

Elsewhere, too, we have seen developments ncouraging for the future of Asia. In Indonesia—which is virtually half of South-East Asia—we have participated in multilateral efforts, aimed at achieving economic stability, which have already contributed much to the building of a prospering and peaceful nation.

The United States has a similar long-run interest in co-operation for progress in South Asia. The one-fifth of mankind who live in India and Pakistan can make the difference for the future of Asia. If their nation-building surmounts the centrifugal forces that have historically divided the subcontinent, if their economic growth keeps pace with popular demands, and if they can avert further costly rivalry between themselves, India and Pakistan can contribute their vast energies to the structure of a stable peace. But these are formidable "ifs."

We stand ready to help the subcontinent overcome them. These nations' potential contribution to peace is too great for us to do otherwise...

While I was in South Asia, I stated our view of the method and purpose of our economic assistance to Asia. These words were spoken in Pakistan, but they express our goals as well for India and all of Asia:

> **"I wish to communicate my governments' conviction that Asian hands must shape the Asian future. This is true, for example, with respect to economic aid, for it must be related to the total pattern of a nation's life. It must support the unique aspirations of each people. Its purpose is to encourage self-reliance, not dependence."**

The fostering of self-reliance is the new purpose and direction of American involvement in Asia. But we are only at the beginning of a new road. However clear our conception of where we wish to go, we must be under no illusion that any policy can provide easy answers to the hard, specific issues which will confront us in Asia in coming years.

Delicate choice

While we have established general guidelines on American responses to Asian conflicts, in practice the specific circumstances of each case require careful study. Even with careful planning we will always have to consider a basic and delicate choice.

If we limit our own involvement in the interest of encouraging local self reliance, and the threat turns

➡

Nixon on China

Steps towards improved relations with Peking

ON relations with Peking, Mr. Nixon said that the Chinese were a great and vital people who should not remain isolated from the international community. In the long run, no stable and enduring international order was conceivable without the contribution of this nation of more than 700 million people.

He said: "Chinese foreign policy reflects the complexity of China's historical relationships with the outside world. While China has the longest unbroken history of self-government in the world, it has had little experience in dealing with other nations on a basis of equal sovereignty...

Nor can we underestimate the gulf of ideology between us, or the apparent differences in interests and how we interpret world events. While America has historic ties of friendship with the Chinese people, and many of our basic interests are not in conflict, we must recognize the profound gulf of suspicion and ideology.

The principles underlying our relations with Communist China are similar to those governing our policies toward the USSR. United States policy is not likely soon to have much impact on China's behaviour, let alone its ideological outlook. But it is certainly in our interest, and in the interest of peace and stability in Asia and the world, that we take what steps we can toward improved practical relations with Peking.

The key to our relations will be the actions each side takes regarding the other and its allies. We will not ignore hostile acts. We intend to maintain our treaty commitment to the defence of the Republic of China. But we will seek to promote understandings which can establish a new pattern of mutually beneficial actions...

Our desire for improved relations is not a tactical means of exploiting the clash between China and the Soviet Union. We see no benefit to us in the intensification of that conflict, and we have no intention of taking sides. Nor is the United States interested in joining any condominium or hostile coalition of great powers against either of the large Communist countries. Our attitude is clear-cut—a lasting peace will be impossible so long as some nations consider themselves the permanent enemies of others."

out to have been more serious than we had judged, we will only have created still more dangerous choices. On the other hand, if we become unwisely involved, we risk stifling the local contribution which is the key to our long-run commitment to Asia.

The success of our Asian policy depends not only on the strength of our partnership with our Asian friends, but also on our relations with Mainland China and the Soviet Union. We have no desire to impose our own prescriptions for relationships in Asia. We have described in the Nixon Doctrine our conception of our relations with Asian nations. We hope that other great powers will act in a similar spirit and not seek hegemony.

Just as we and our allies have an interest in averting great power dominance over Asia, we believe that peace in the world would be endangered by great power conflict there—whether it involves us or not. This characterizes our attitude towards the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Asian regional co-operation is at its beginning. We will confront subtle decisions as we seek to help maintain its momentum without supplanting Asian direction of the effort.

A sound relationship with Japan is crucial in our common effort to secure peace, security, and a rising living standard in the Pacific area. We look forward to extending the co-operative relationship we deepened in 1969...

In South Asia, our good relations with India and Pakistan should not obscure the concrete dilemmas we will face...

All these issues will confront this administration with varying intensity over the coming years. We are planning now to meet challenges and anticipate crises. Our purpose in 1969 has been to make sure none was ignored or underestimated. The task ahead—for Asians and Americans—is to address all these issues with the imagination, realism and boldness their solutions demand if lasting peace is to come to Asia."

Nixon on Vietnam

'A just peace remains our goal'

DEALING with Vietnam, Mr. Nixon said that a just peace had been, and remained, the goal of the United States. The real issues were the nature of that peace and how to achieve it. In addressing these issues at the beginning of his administration, he had to consider the great consequences of their decisions.

"I stated the consequences of a precipitate withdrawal in these terms in my speech of May 14:

'When we assumed the burden of helping defend South Vietnam, millions of South Vietnamese men, women and children placed their trust in us. To abandon them now would risk a massacre that would shock and dismay everyone in the world who values human life...

When it comes to maintaining peace, 'prestige' is not an empty word. I am not speaking of false pride or bravado—they should have no place in our policies. I speak, rather, of the respect that one nation has for another's integrity in defending its principles and meeting its obligations.

If we simply abandoned our effort in Vietnam, the cause of peace might not survive the damage that would be done to other nations' confidence in our reliability.

Another reason for not withdrawing unilaterally stems from debates within the communist world... If Hanoi were to succeed in taking over South Vietnam by force—even after the power of the United States had been engaged—it would greatly strengthen those leaders who scorn negotiation, who advocate aggression, who minimize the risks of confrontation with the United States. It would bring peace now but it would enormously increase the danger of a bigger war later.'

My trip through Asia last summer made this fact more vivid to me than ever. I did not meet a single Asian leader who urged a precipitate U.S. withdrawal. The closer their nations were to the battlefield, the greater was their concern that America meet its responsibilities in Vietnam...

We do not pretend that our goals in Vietnam have been accomplished, or that the way ahead will be easy.

In South Vietnam, we have helped the South Vietnamese make progress in increasing their defence capacity, and we have reduced the number of American men and casualties. Yet Vietnamization is still a developing process, and enemy intentions on the battlefield are unclear.

At the conference table, we have made generous and reasonable proposals for a settlement. Yet the other side still refuses to negotiate seriously. Despite these uncertainties, I believe that we are on the right road, and that we are moving toward our goals...

The key to peace lies in Hanoi—in its decision to end the bloodshed and to negotiate in the true sense of the word."

PARIS TALKS

PRISONER ISSUE SUPERFLUOUS SAYS HANOI

THE United States has tried to discuss the prisoner-of-war issue at the Paris talks on Vietnam, but has been met by charges from the other side that the subject was "useless" and "superfluous."

Concluding that "you are not yet ready to engage in serious negotiations," U.S. Ambassador Philip C. Habib told the North Vietnamese and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) representatives:

"It is also apparent, from your attitude, that you seek to use the prisoners as a means of applying pressure on the United States for an over-all settlement. Let me just say on this point that this cruel attempt at playing upon the anxiety and anguish of the families of missing or captured men is entirely condemned by public opinion in the United States and elsewhere."

On the subject of Laos, Ambassador Habib denied involvement of any U.S. combat troops in that country.

Nixon on Laos

HANOI'S TROOP BUILD-UP: A NEW APPEAL

IN a 3,000 word statement on Laos, President Nixon on March 6 called on the Soviet Union and Britain to help in bringing peace to Laos. The following are extracts from that statement: "In the light of the increasingly massive presence of North Vietnamese troops and their recent offensives in Laos, I have written letters today to British Prime Minister Wilson and Soviet Premier Kosygin asking their help in restoring the 1962 Geneva agreements for that country.

As co-chairmen of that conference, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have particular responsibilities for seeing that its provisions are honoured. My letters note the persistent North Vietnamese violations of the accords and their current offensives; support the Laotian Prime Minister's own current appeal to the co-chairmen for consultations; urge the co-chairmen to work with other signatories of the Geneva accords; and pledge full United States co-operation.

30 Battalions

Hanoi's most recent military build-up in Laos has been particularly escalatory. They have poured over 13,000 additional troops into Laos during the past few months, raising their total in Laos to over 67,000. Thirty North Vietnamese battalions from regular division units participated in the current campaign in the Plain of Jars with tanks, armoured cars and long-range artillery. The indigenous Laotian Communists, the Pathet Lao, are playing an insignificant role...

North Vietnam appears to have two aims in Laos. The first is to insure its ability to use Laos as a supply route for North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. The second is to weaken and subvert the Royal Lao Government—originally established at its urging—to hinder it from interfering with North Vietnamese use of Laotian territory, and to pave the way for the eventual establishment of a government more amenable to Communist control...

We are trying above all to save American and allied lives in South Vietnam which are threatened. By the continual infiltration of North Vietnamese troops and supplies along the Ho Chi Minh trail, Hanoi has infiltrated over 100,000 men through Laos since this administration took office and over 500,000 altogether. Our air-strikes have destroyed weapons and supplies over the past four years which would have taken thousands of American lives.

We are also supporting the independence and neutrality of Laos as set forth in the 1962 Geneva agreements. Our assistance has always been at the request of the legitimate government of Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma which the North Vietnamese helped establish; it is directly related to North Vietnamese violations of the agreement.

We continue to be hopeful of eventual progress in the negotiations in Paris. But serious doubts are raised as to Hanoi's intentions if it is simultaneously violating the Geneva agreements on Laos which we reached with them largely on the basis of their own proposals. What we do in Laos has thus as its aim to bring about conditions for progress toward peace in the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula..."

Referring to U.S. aid to Laos, Mr. Nixon said:

"There are no American ground combat troops in Laos.

We have no plans for introducing ground combat forces into Laos.

The total number of Americans directly employed

➡

NIXON ON LAOS:

by the U.S. Government in Laos is 616. In addition there are 424 Americans employed on contract to the government or to government contractors. Of these 1040 Americans, the total number, military and civilian, engaged in a military advisory or military training capacity numbers 320. Logistics personnel number 323.

No American stationed in Laos has ever been killed in ground combat operations.

U.S. personnel in Laos during the past year have not increased while during the past few months, North Vietnam has sent over 13,000 additional combat ground troops into Laos.

When requested by the Royal Laotian Government, we have continued to provide military assistance to regular and irregular Laotian forces in the form of equipment, training and logistics. The levels of our assistance have risen in response to the growth of North Vietnamese combat activities.

We have continued to conduct air operations. Our first priority for such operations is to interdict the continued flow of troops and supplies across Laotian territory on the Ho Chi Minh trail. As commander-in-chief of our armed forces, I consider it my responsibility to use our air power to interdict this flow of supplies and men into South Vietnam and thereby avoid a heavy toll of American and allied lives.

In addition to these air operations on the Ho Chi Minh trail, we have continued to carry out reconnaissance flights in northern Laos and to fly combat support missions for Laotian forces when requested to do so by the Royal Laotian Government.

In every instance our combat air operations have taken place only over those parts of Laos occupied and contested by North Vietnamese and other Communist forces. They have been flown only when requested by the Laotian government. The level of our air operations has been increased only as the number of North Vietnamese in Laos and the level of their aggression has increased...

I hope that a genuine quest for peace in Indochina can now begin. For Laos, this will require the efforts of the Geneva conference co-chairmen and the signatory countries.

But most of all it will require realism and reasonableness from Hanoi. For it is the North Vietnamese, not we, who have escalated the fighting..."

U.S. PEACE BID WELCOMED

LT. General Jesus Vargas, Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, said: "President Nixon's statement on Laos is most welcome here since it puts in proper perspective the real aggressor in this small and long-beleaguered land."

"It is Hanoi that has poured in troops and war material in alarming quantity in the past few months, as the President said in his statement last week. The tremendous arms caches the Lao government forces captured last summer in the Plain of Jars is indisputable proof that Hanoi was preparing for major offensive actions on Laotian territory.

"More than 67,000 North Vietnamese troops are now in Laos in direct violation of the 1962 Geneva Accords. Again, as Mr. Nixon noted, these are not advisors or technicians but active line units of the North Vietnamese Army.

"It is perfectly obvious that Hanoi has two objectives: to continue to use Laos as a corridor and supply route for North Vietnamese forces fighting in the South, and, secondly and ironically, it desires to weaken and subvert the Royal Lao Government, the same coalition government Hanoi and the Soviet Union proposed and supported in 1962.

"As SEATO Secretary-General, I applaud Mr. Nixon's efforts in attempting to get the 1962 Geneva Agreements restored," concluded General Vargas.

Thailand's Foreign Minister, Dr. Thanat Khoman, also expressed Support for Mr. Nixon's new move.

● **Shortly after Mr. Nixon's appeal on Laos, Britain voiced support for all efforts to achieve compliance with the Geneva Agreements on Laos and expressed a readiness to do whatever it could to help. The British Government welcomed the assurance from President Nixon of full U.S. co-operation.**

Warning by General Vargas:

LAOS DEVELOPMENTS POSE THREAT TO THAI SECURITY

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas told a Press conference at the Organisation's HQ on March 24 that unless the Declaration of Neutrality of Laos made at the 1962 Geneva conference was respected, the situation in that country would become more serious.

General Vargas said that events in Laos had a direct bearing on Communist terrorist activity in Thailand. If Communist influence grew in Laos "we must assume that their assistance to terrorists in Thailand will also grow". The situation in Laos had to be watched very closely.

Answering a question on the Cambodian *coup*, General Vargas said that the Cambodian people had finally decided to check growing Communist incursions in that country. North Vietnamese Communist forces had been utilising Cambodian territory as a sanctuary and supply base to further their aggression in South Vietnam.

The Cambodian people had clearly felt it was time that they took some action to halt Communist activities in their country. For the sake of peace in the region the move was well taken. It was a bid to stop the Communist aggressors imposing their will by force in South-East Asia.

"What should attract our attention is that the source of disturbance in Laos, South Vietnam and Cambodia is Hanoi," said the General. "North Vietnam clearly wants to overrun all of what was Indochina." If that happened, the prospects for South-East Asia would be bleak.

What chance did Cambodia have of clearing Communist forces from her soil? To this question, General Vargas replied: "I cannot say. Only time will tell. But let us not underestimate the capability of Cambodia, although she is a small nation. I hope that the Communists will co-operate and withdraw their troops. I hope that they will respect the wishes of the free people.

"If they assume a stubborn position in spite of the people's wishes, this will show once again that the Communists are trying to impose their will by force throughout the region."

General Vargas said that with regard to both Laos and Cambodia it was up to the respective governments to make their own decisions on courses of action against the Communists. If they requested SEATO's assistance, the matter would have to go before the Council of Ministers for a decision.

In view of the situation in the region would SEATO supply the Royal Thai Government with arms and weaponry? General Vargas answered that SEATO extended assistance other than weapons to the Royal Thai Government to help in combatting Communist insurgency in the country. It gave technical advice and aid; and was continuing to promote projects which would help that government.

SEATO PROJECT

In particular, the SEATO Secretary-General mentioned the work being carried out by the vehicle rebuild workshop (a project under SEATO auspices) which was repairing vehicles which were being used in operations against Communist terrorists.

If the situation in Thailand worsened to overt aggression by the Communists, the Royal Thai Government would no doubt put its case to SEATO and the Organization would see what it could do to aid a member government.

While the situation remained in the category of covert aggression, the Royal Thai Government would continue to handle it. SEATO did not contemplate giving weapons; these could be obtained through a separate arrangement between the Thais and another SEATO member government.

Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean

AUSTRALIAN PLAN TO DEVELOP BASES

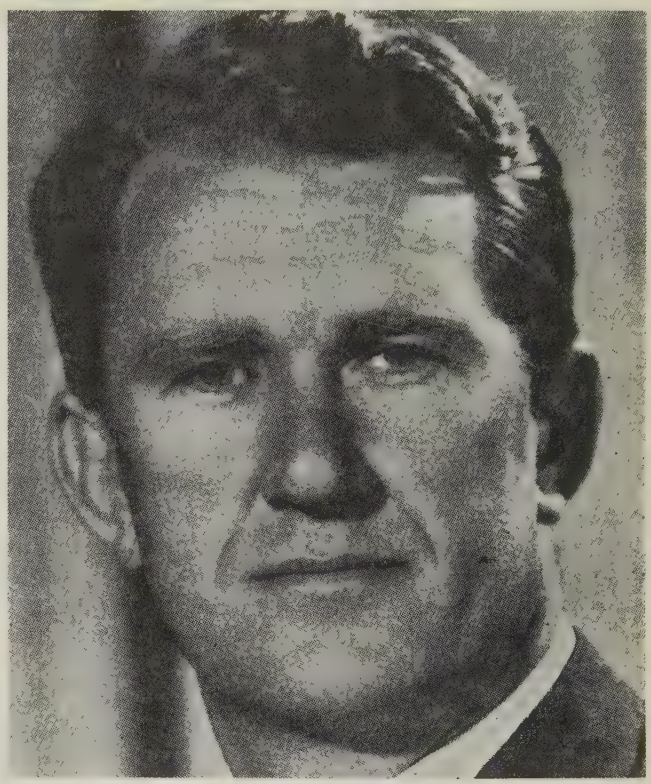
RUSSIAN activities in the Indian Ocean were a fact of life with which Australia would have to contend, the Australian Minister for Defence, Mr. Malcolm Fraser, said in Perth, Western Australia.

Soviet activities in the Indian Ocean had to be taken into account in Australian defence planning. Plans for the development of naval and air bases in Western Australia were "not unrelated" to the increasing Soviet incursions in the Indian Ocean area, he said.

His speech was a partial review of defence policy and the strategic situation. It described problems the government has faced in formulating defence policy for the 1970s and beyond, and gave a critical assessment of the situation in Vietnam.

Australian defence policy had been consistent in its support for a doctrine of regional security, Mr. Fraser said. The future peace and stability of Asia would depend, more than anything else, on whether the new states of South-East Asia could understand and cope with the Communist doctrine of revolutionary warfare. Communist tactics in Vietnam brought to bear the Asian quality of patience which its allies had to learn to match.

Lack of stamina and fortitude and lack of understanding of what was at stake by the American and Australian people might lead to a premature withdrawal of allied forces and a Communist victory in Vietnam.



● **Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Minister for Defence in the Australian Federal Parliament.**

Mr. Fraser said Australia had to take into consideration increasing Soviet incursions in Indian Ocean waters. "There are probably many reasons for Russian activity, her general wish to spread her influence around the world; to influence nations particularly on the north-western area of the Indian Ocean; to counter China's thoughts of expansion to the south," Mr. Fraser said.

Mr. Fraser said he believed that in recent times the government had not sufficiently explained Australian attitudes to the Vietnam war. "Silence leaves the field to the critics and to those who believe we should immediately withdraw; to those who perhaps believe in their hearts that Communism would not be a bad thing for South-East Asia," he said.

Mr. Fraser said he could not predict the outcome of the Vietnam war but he could not see an end to free world military assistance for South Vietnam "in the short run".

25,000 TROOPS IN 5-POWER FAR EAST EXERCISE

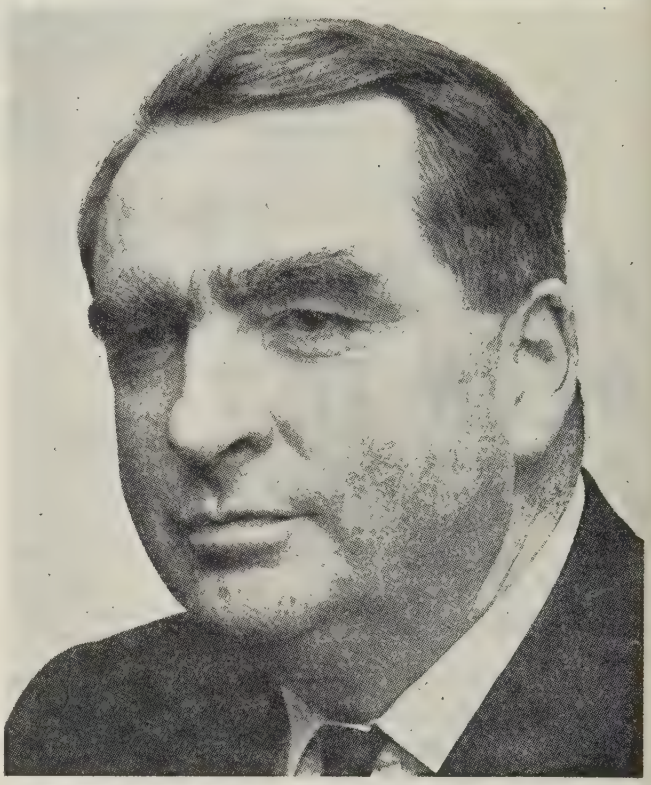
MR. Denis Healey, Britain's Defence Secretary, has announced details of the five-power combined exercise which will take place in Malaysia this year and which will involve the deployment from Britain of more than 2,000 men, 50 combat aircraft, and about 200 vehicles.

Other countries taking part will be Singapore, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand. Altogether about 25,000 men will be involved.

Mr. Healey said that the purpose of the exercise was to show that Britain had a real capability to carry out military operations outside Europe after the 1971 withdrawal, though whether or not a British Government would provide such forces would have to be decided at the time.

A warning

The existence of this capability would be a warning to any trouble-makers in the area, he continued. The exercise would show friends and potential enemies what could be done. He admitted that Britain would need a certain amount of time to get troops acclimatized and to get supplies into the area, but said that the type of situation covered by the exercise would not arise without warning.



● **Mr. Denis Healey, Britain's Defence Secretary.**

The exercise imagines overt military action against Malaysia by a fictitious country which introduces troops into Malaysia for insurrectionary purposes. Britain's response will be to fly out a brigade group from the United Kingdom, supported by ground attack squadrons of Phantoms.

New Zealand Defence Minister at SEATO HQ.

Mr. Thomson, New Zealand's Minister of Defence, enjoys a joke with New Zealanders serving at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, during his recent visit to Thailand. From left to right: Miss V. Williams, Conference Secretary, Mr. Thomson, and Group Captain A.L. Parlane Head of Plans, SEATO Military Planning Office. Mr. Thomson and Lt. Gen. Sir Leonard Thornton met SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and the Chief of the Military Planning Office, Major General Autrey J. Maroun.

SENIOR OFFICERS TAKE PART IN SEATO COURSE

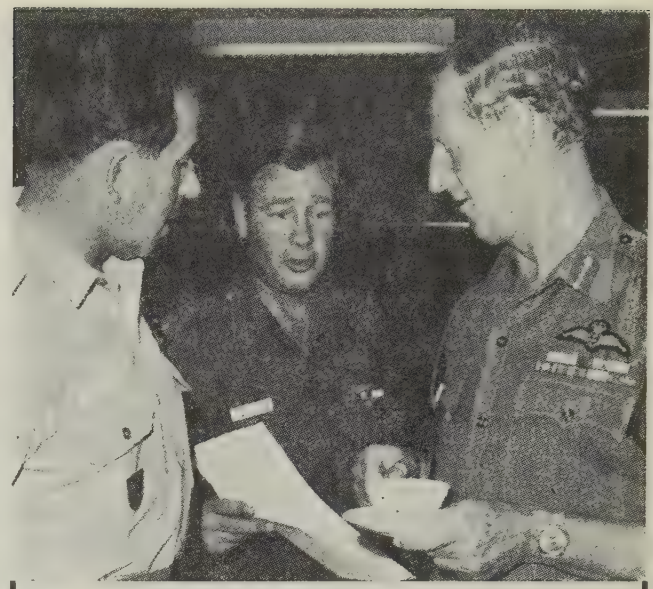
SEVENTY-ONE senior military officers and defence officials from SEATO member nations attended an orientation course conducted by the SEATO Military Planning Office from March 2-9.

They included Brigadier P.J.F. Whiteley, Commander of the United Kingdom No. 3 Commando Brigade; Group Captain H.P. Colebrook, the Director of Movements and Transportation of the Royal Australian Air Force; Colonel Prakarn Poonwanatnurak, of the Thai Supreme Command Headquarters, and Colonel A.M. Matthews from the United States Army, Pacific.

Brigadier General F.T. Pestana (Philippines), who has just been appointed Deputy Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, also attended the up-country section of the course.

Following a welcoming address by SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas on March 2, the officials spent two days in Bangkok receiving briefings and holding discussions on the organization's defence arrangements. They flew by Royal Thai Air Force aircraft to visit U-Tapao, Sattahip, Korat, Sakhon Nakhon, Nakhon Phanom and Chieng Mai. At Thai and United States defence facilities at these places they received briefings and toured the bases.

Three orientation courses are run by the SEATO Military Planning Office each year.



● **Brigadier P.J.F. Whiteley (right), Commander of the United Kingdom No. 3 Commando Brigade, was one of the senior military officers from SEATO member nations who attended the orientation course conducted by the SEATO Military Planning Office early in March. Here he talks with the Colonel W.D. Jamieson (left) of Australia and Lieutenant Colonel P.J. Joplin of New Zealand just before the course was opened by Secretary-General Jesus Vargas. During the course, the officers visited U-Tapao, Sattahip, Korat, Sakhon Nakhon, Nakhon Phanom and Chiang Mai.**

PROTECTIVE REACTION STAND IN VIETNAM AFFIRMED BY U.S.

THE United States would continue its policy of "protective reaction" to all North Vietnamese threats in order to speed the Vietnamization programme, the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Laird, has emphasised in Washington.

The United States would "react in all cases to movements by the North Vietnamese that threaten the safety and security of American forces that are assigned in Vietnam."

Mr. Laird's comments came in response to newsmen's questions after he appeared on February 27 before an appropriations subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Secretary also reiterated a statement he made on February 26 that no U.S. ground combat forces were engaged in Laos. There had, he stressed, been no changes in the U.S. operations policy in Laos "in the last three or four years."

Recent reports of increased U.S. air activity over Laos have prompted congressional concern that the administration might be expanding the war in South-East Asia. However, U.S. officials have assured critics that U.S. activity in Laos is consistent with the national commitments language of the Congress.

SEATO EXERCISE 'SEA ROVER'

'A RESOUND

● *Left: Up, up and away ...Take off from the HMAS Melbourne. Above: The Thai destroyer escort HTMS Pinklao steams alongside Melbourne. Below right: The oiler USS Mattaponi prepares to replenish an exercise vessel.*

NAVAL and Air Forces of six SEATO Member Nations exercised in the South China Sea between March 23 and April 9. The combined maritime defence exercise, nicknamed "SEA ROVER", was the 37th exercise conducted by SEATO member nations since the Organization was formed in 1954.

And according to exercise Director Rear Admiral W.T. Rapp, USN, Sea Rover was "a resounding success".

Some 40 ships, ranging from an aircraft carrier to mine-clearing vessels, from Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States, assembled in Manila and Sattahip, Thailand, on March 23.

Maritime aircraft from Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States and strike aircraft from the Philippines also participated.

After a variety of training activities, a convoy operation started from Philippines on April 1 and ended in the Gulf of Thailand seven days later.

During this phase the convoy was subjected to simulated submarine attacks from the Australian, United Kingdom and United States Navies and to air attacks from Philippine Air Force fighters.

Deputy Directors of the exercise were Rear Admiral Supa Gajaseni (Thailand) and Rear Admiral H.D. Stevenson (Australia).

G SUCCESS'

● *Somers at sunset. The guided-missile destroyer USS Somers steams alongside HMAS Melbourne, during the workup phase of exercise "Sea Rover."*

Exercise Director's closing remarks: Page 26

SEA ROVER:

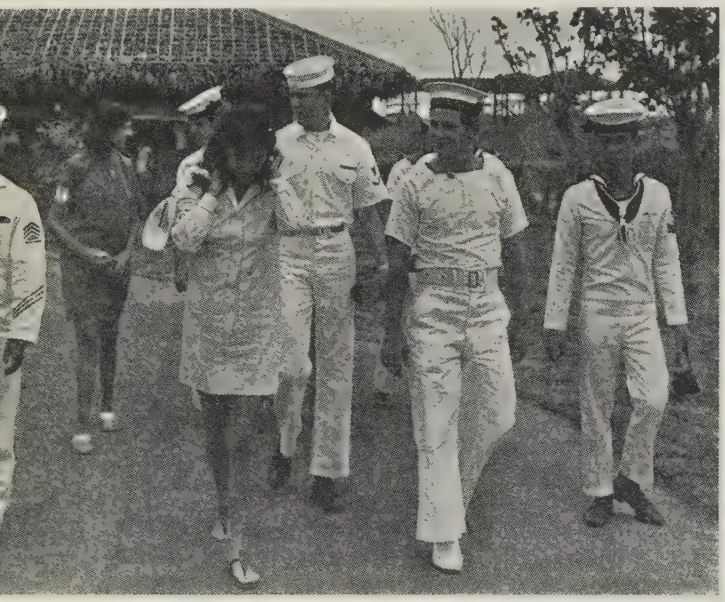
Exercise Director speaks of major achievement

AT the end of SEATO'S maritime exercise "sea Rover," Rear Admiral W.T. Rapp, USN, Exercise Director, said that Sea Rover had been the latest in a continuing series of exercises designed to enhance SEATO's ability to cope with a large-scale Communist military act of aggression which might occur in the South-East Asia area of responsibility.

"Each of these exercises has been an extensive undertaking, as indeed they all should be, for they must be commensurate with the magnitude of the responsibility entrusted to the SEATO alliance, a responsibility which encompasses the defence of an area of over three and one—half million square miles and involves the security of nearly 100 million people who choose to live their lives free of the enslaving yoke of Communism," said Admiral Rapp.

Over the years each SEATO exercise had progressed to more advanced and more complex tactics in order to ensure that the best possible training and co-ordination were obtained to meet the challenging requirements of modern sophisticated warfare. The advanced tactics employed in exercise Sea Rover were the result of this learning process which had been accomplished throughout the 15 years of working together under SEATO.

Now that the exercise was over, there was now the stage of analysis. "We must construct from our accumulated data a clear and concise picture of our existing capabilities and recommend improvements in those areas where such steps appear warranted," said Admiral Rapp. "A major achievement of Sea Spirit (the previous SEATO exercise) and Sea Rover has been the development of a refined set of maritime operating procedures which will form the foundation for future operations. This has been no small task, but only by such efforts and the application of the lessons we have learned can the SEATO alliance continue to develop its military forces into meaningful, substantive organization, without which we cannot ensure the maintenance of a regional community of peaceful, co-operative nations".

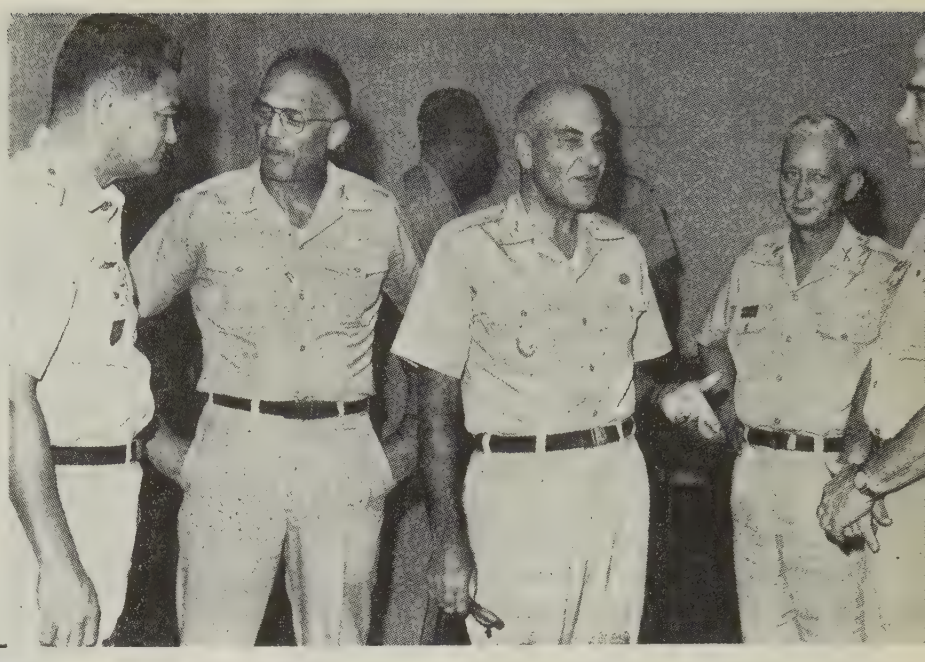


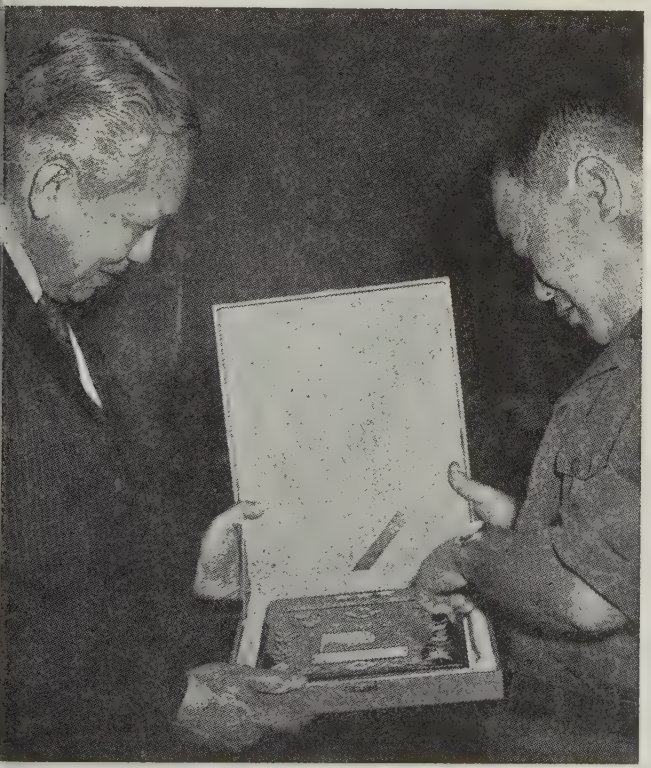
While their ships congregated in Manila Bay in preparation SEATO exercise "SEA ROVER", sailors from the multinational t took in the Manila sights.

Above: With the help of two USO volunteers, the SEATO lors see some sample native houses in a village near Manila. ht: At a local fruit market, Yolly CEZAR, a Manila USO unteer encourages Michael S. BOECKING of Tahoe City, Calinia to try his first sweet mango.

Some 40 senior commanders of the U.S. Army Advisory Group to the Royal Thai Army visited SEATO HQ on March 18 as part of their quarterly Commanders' Conference. They received briefings and held discussions on SEATO's military and civil activities.

Col. Glenn P. Elliott (right), Chief of the US Army Advisory Group talks, with the Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, Maj.-Gen. Autrey J. Maroun (centre). Others in the photograph (from left to right) are Brig. Gen. Felix Pestana, Deputy Chief of the MPO, Col. Roger M. Pezzelle and Col. Melecio J. Montesclaros, Deputy Chief of the Advisory Group.





Unit plaque for Gen. Vargas

● *Lt. Gen. Lee Sae Ho, Commander, Republic of Korea forces in Vietnam, presenting his unit plaque to SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas who paid him a courtesy call during a recent visit to Vietnam. The two generals exchanged views on the current situation with special reference to the role in Vietnam of the Korean forces.*

Communists concede Saigon success in Mekong Delta

SOUTH Vietnamese Government control in the Mekong Delta region has increased while Vietcong influence there has declined, a captured Communist directive admits.

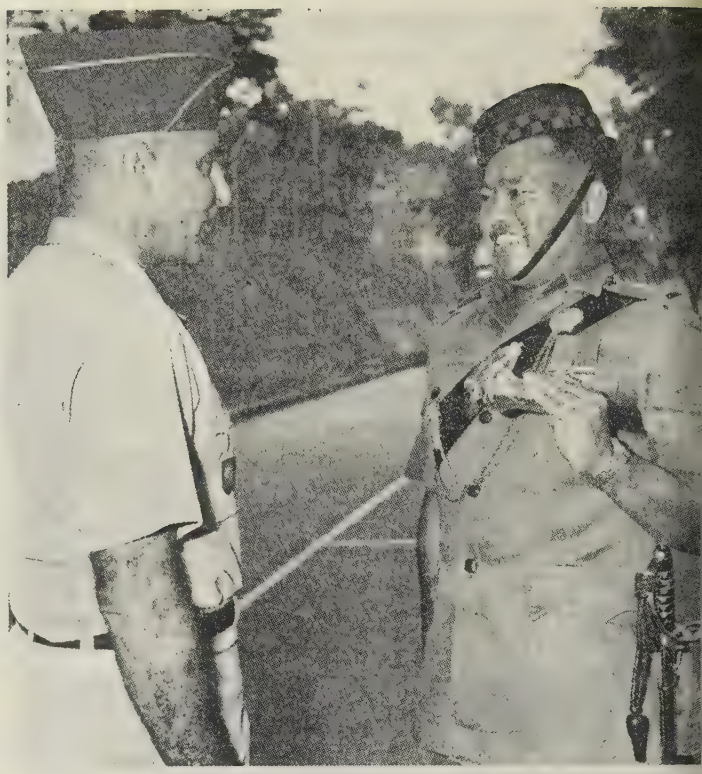
This appraisal, attributed by intelligence officials to North Vietnamese General Hoang Van Thai, identified as the executive officer of the "Liberation Army" (Vietcong), is contained in a document addressed to the commanders of the northern and southern Delta regions—an area of about 30,000 square miles (78,000 square kilometers).

The document, captured by South Vietnamese troops in early February, was made public on March 23.

Acknowledging that South Vietnamese forces have "temporarily created a difficult situation "for Communist forces in the Delta, the author also presented the Communist rationale for introducing "main force" (North Vietnamese regular) units into an area which once was a Vietcong stronghold.

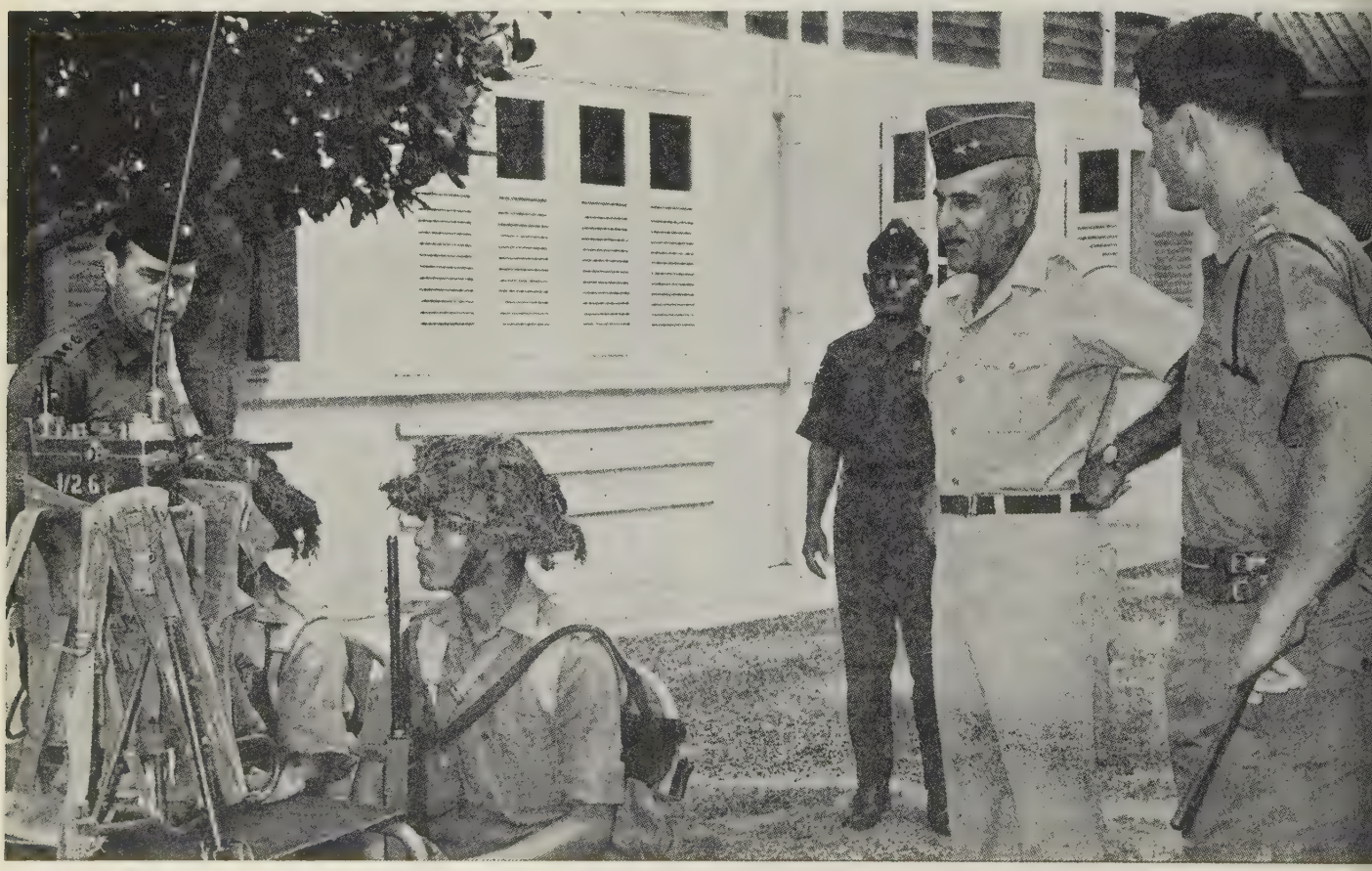
"There was no way to avoid this decision," the directive explained. "It is lack of effectiveness of friendly (Vietcong) activities in the Delta which have created the present difficulties on other battlefields, expecially the main front area (around Saigon)."

Singapore visit



● *Major General Autrey J. Maroun, Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, recently visited Singapore at the invitation of Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton, Commander-in-Chief Far East and United Kingdom Military Adviser. In addition to talks with senior military officers, Major General Maroun also visited various military installations on the island.*

When he visited the 1st Battalion 2nd King Edward VII's Own Gurkha Rifles at Slim Barracks, he talked to Battalion Sergeant Major Jitman Pun (picture right) and watched members of the battalion carrying out internal security training (picture below). On the right is Group Captain A.L. Parlane, RNZAF, the Head of Plans at the SEATO Military Planning Office, who accompanied General Maroun on the visit.



'AUSTRALIA CANNOT ADOPT A POLICY OF ISOLATION'

AUSTRALIA'S Defence Minister Mr. Malcolm Fraser, on March 10 outlined a programme of new purchases for the Australian armed forces and said the country's military capability must be geared for deployment in South-East Asia. In a major policy statement to Parliament, Mr. Fraser said Australia could not adopt a policy of isolation.

Mr. Fraser outlined a 165 million dollar programme for the armed forces, including the purchase of two more Oberon class submarines, 137 helicopters and 10 more Sky-hawk strike aircraft.

He said defence policies must have meaning not only for the immediate present—they must also fit the situation "that we assess will face us in the future."

"The rapidity of technological and scientific development introduces yet another dimension," he said.

In his first statement to Parliament, he also said:

"The Nixon doctrine, first enunciated at Guam, is full of meaning for the countries to our north and to us, American help will be more readily forthcoming to those countries that help themselves; insurgency situations are expected to be contained—better still, prevented from developing—without United States combat manpower. It is to be expected that there will be some contraction of total United States forces and installations. However, the Americans have proclaimed that they will stand by their treaty obligations. Two of these are of major concern to us—ANZUS and SEATO...

"If a policy of isolating ourselves ever made any sense, which I deny, the Nixon Doctrine at Guam makes it complete nonsense. Considered from the narrowest military ground a policy of isolation would pose one inescapable question—how long could we stand aloof in armed or unarmed detachment from our environment?

"One can only guess—probably a decade—perhaps a generation. There might be comfort in that for us—less for our next generation perhaps. For you do not make South-East Asia or the Indian Ocean disappear by turning your back on them. The region of S.E. Asia and the surrounding Pacific and Indian Ocean waters comprise our environment: we are as well a part of the environment of the other nations in our region.

"If that environment is going to change we want to be able to play a meaningful part in the changes—not work out a relationship after the region has been transformed by processes with which we were not associated and of which we had accumulated little knowledge or experience...

"We reject the idea of detachment. We accept the risk and opportunities of involvement in our neighbourhood because we believe there are greater risks both for the region and Australia in our isolation.

"We believe there will be no permanent security for any of the small countries of the region until there is permanent security for all. So within our resources our military capability must be geared for deployment in the region of which Australia is a part, when in our judgment we conclude that such deployment is demanded by our idea of regional security as well as for the obvious purpose of meeting possible threats to Australian territory...

"Any other course would involve the denial of our treaty obligations. It would mean the elimination of our South-East Asia Treaty Organisation associations. It would be incompatible with ANZUS which some tend to suggest wrongly is a treaty of one way obligation. ANZUS does not mean merely that other people should prepare themselves to defend Australia's interests. A policy based in isolation would have meant a different response from the one we gave the Malaysian and Singaporean requests that Australia ontinue to maintain forces in their countries...

"At the same time our commitments must be related at all times to our capabilities and it must be clearly understood that there are limits to both," said Mr. Fraser.

● *Major General K.C. Dempster, Vice-Commander, 13rd Air Force, USAF, whose Headquarters are at Clarke Air Force Base, Philippines, visited SEATO Headquarters on March 12 and met Secretary-General Jesus Vargas and the Chief of the Military Planning Office, Major General Autrey J. Maroun. He was accompanied by Group Captain Vera Thaikla, Deputy Director of Air Logistics of the Royal Thai Air Force. From left to right are: General Maroun, Secretary-General Vargas, General Dempster, Group Captain Vera, Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop and Brigadier General Felix T. Pestana, Deputy Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office.*

N.Z. TROOPS STAY IN VIETNAM 'WHILE THEY ARE NEEDED'

NEW Zealand's Defence Minister, Mr. David Thomson, said in Wellington on March 10 that New Zealand troops should not be withdrawn from South Vietnam until the Vietnamese said they were ready to take over their country's defence.

Mr. Thomson was reported to have told a Press conference on his return from a two-week tour of South-East Asia: "New Zealand would not consider withdrawing any troops while there is still a need for them."

Mr. Thomson said there were no indications that Australian troops would be withdrawn in large numbers soon. "I have told the Australians that when the last Australian is in Vietnam there will be a New Zealander alongside him," he said.

Australia steps up aid for civil action projects

THE Australian Government recently decided to give another $A.80,000 for Civic Action projects of the Australian Force in Vietnam. The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. William McMahon, announced the increase which will bring the aid allocation for this purpose for the current financial year to a new total of $A230,000.

This will enable an expansion of the present successful civic action programme in Phuoc Tuy Province, the area in which the Australian Force is operating. Some projects are also being implemented in Ninh Thuan Province by the RAAF.

Mr. McMahon said that the civic action programme had been effective in improving conditions in the area by the construction of access roads and drains, the building of town and village markets and dispensaries, additions and renovations to schools, and assistance with village water supplies, etc.

These projects are approved by the Vietnamese Government and implemented with the active co-operation of farmers, villagers, townspeople and local authorities.

Mr. McMahon added that the Australian Force provided without charge much of the construction equipment and skilled personnel (including doctors and dentists to hold regular clinics). The Australian aid also assists in purchasing materials for these projects.

SEATO's 15th Council meeting

THE Council of Ministers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization will hold its 15th meeting on July 2-3 in the Philippines, it was announced on March 17 by SEATO Secretary-General, Lt. General Jesus Vargas.

Foreign Ministers are expected to head the delegations to the meeting.

During the meeting, the delegates will review the situation in the treaty area, especially with regard to Vietnam, and work plans for the coming year. Special attention will be paid to SEATO's role in combatting Communist aggression in the area, namely subversion and insurgency.

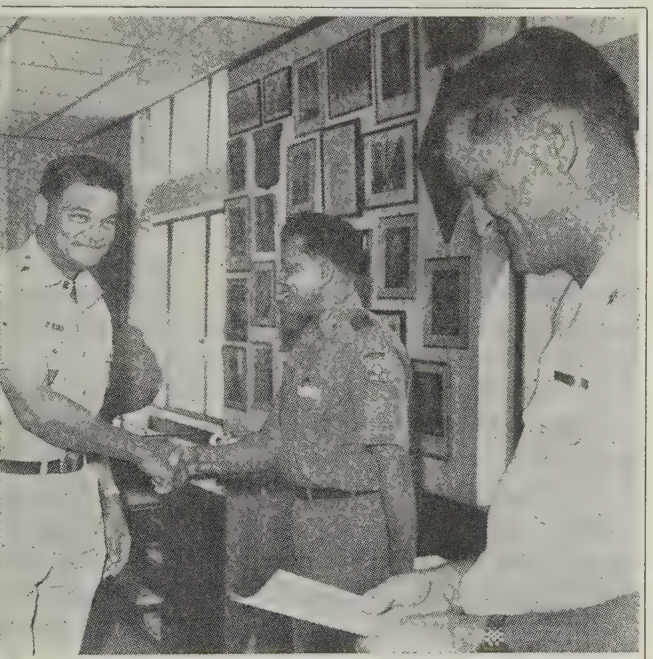
A final communique will be issued after the final session on July 3, said General Vargas, at which time he will also hold a Press conference.

General Vargas said:

"The 15th Meeting of the Council of Ministers comes at a time when the tentacles of Communism are reaching out to every corner of South-East Asia. The need for a strong, vigilant Organization to meet this threat is increasingly underlined by Communist incursions into the free nations of the area. SEATO will continue to contribute in resisting this threat as it has so effectively throughout its history".

'REGIONAL CO-OPERATION NEEDED TO FIGHT SUBVERSION'

IN a policy speech to the Australian Parliament on March 19, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. William McMahon, said that effective resistance to subversion and insurgency on a region-wide basis called not only for individual efforts by the countries concerned but also meaningful co-operation between them in the economic, social and security fields.



Brigadier General Felix Pestana, Deputy Chief of SEATO's Military Planning Office, congratulates recipients of Certificates of Merit at the end of their tours of duty at SEATO Headquarters. In the centre is Master Sergeant F.D. Alolino, of the Philippines with Chief Petty Officer W.C. Bailey, United States (right).

The basic objective was to build up in the Asian and Pacific region a climate of co-operation and mutual help which could be maintained notwithstanding the inevitable differences that existed between individual countries.

He continued: "The individual countries of the area have shown that they themselves appreciate the need for, and the value of such co-operation.

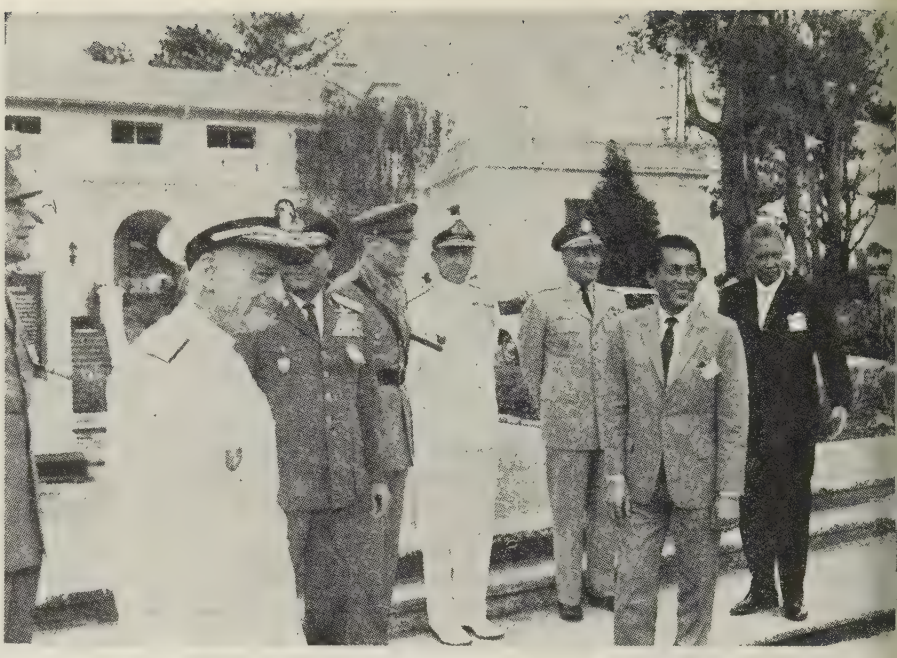
"In addition to developing the habit of co-operation through meeting together in established forums such as ECAFE and the Colombo Plan, they have taken their own initiative in establishing groups organizations such as ASPAC and ASEAN. Australia is a full member of ASPAC.

"We are not a member of ASEAN, which is entirely Asian in origin and membership. While we have expressed sympathy and support for its purpose, the members of ASEAN may well prefer, at least for the time being, to retain its purely Asian character.

"Further welcome examples of such co-operation are the joint measures taken by Malaysia and Indonesia, and by Malaysia and Thailand, to suppress Communist terrorism on the Sarawak and Malaysian-Thai borders," said Mr. McMahon.

● *Senior military leaders from SEATO member nations, who attended the 32nd SEATO Military Advisers' Conference photographed with the Philippines Secretary of National Defence, the Honourable Juan Ponce Enrile, and SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas, shortly before the opening ceremony.*

From left to right: Lt. Gen. Sir Leonard Thornton (New Zealand); Admiral John S. McCain, Jr. (U.S.); Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya (Thailand); Maj.-Gen. Sir Thomas Daly (Australia); Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton (U.K.); Maj.-Gen. Autrey J. J. Maroun (Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office); Secretary of Defence Enrile; SEATO Secretary-General Vargas; and Gen. Manuel T. Yan (Philippines).



SEATO A BEACON OF HOPE

Military Advisers' 32nd Conference

OPENING the 32nd Conference of the Military Advisers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization at Baguio City, Philippines, on April 2, the Honourable Juan Ponce Enrile, Philippines Secretary of National Defence, said that the Philippines realized the importance of the military teamwork that had been developing among the SEATO allies in more than a decade and a half of the organization's existence.

"The point is obvious to one who looks at it from considerations of military efficiency," he said, adding: "But this can also be viewed in another light. As we all know, SEATO is concerned not only with the task of providing a military shield to protect free nations in South-East Asia against Communist aggression and subversion.

FREE NATIONS

SEATO is also a team of free nations addressing themselves fraternally to the challenging undertaking of improving the lot of peoples of the region in the economic, social, cultural, and scientific fields."

Significant gains had been achieved in the non-military projects of SEATO, and in the success of these activities, teamwork had played a positive role, "just as has been seen in outstanding manner in the painstaking and exacting work of the military."

He continued: "Success in these uplifting projects of SEATO bears a message of hope to peoples under the heels of Communist aggression. This message is that democracy and freedom can best guarantee the welfare and happiness of the human person. Thus, SEATO is not only a shield but also a beacon of hope, enhancing the realization of the organization's objective to serve as deterrent to aggression.

"Teamwork, then, is playing a vital role in the success of SEATO in the military and non-military fields. We can perhaps exert more efforts towards further developing a teamwork between military and non-military efforts. Let the beacon shine upon the shield that no one may fail to see that the protective armour is there, or mistake its defensive intent. And let the shield, in turn, serve to cover the beacon of freedom against any ill wind that might extinguish it".

Fraternal collaboration among its allies had been one of the greatest achievements of SEATO since its inception.

COMMUNIQUE

'SEATO's military effectiveness must be sustained and increased'

● The importance of a free-world organisation like SEATO in meeting increasing Communist subversion, insurgency and open aggression in the Treaty area, was emphasised by the Military Advisers in their final communique issued on April 3.

The full text of the communique was as follows—

THE 32nd Conference of the Military Advisers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization ended at Baguio City, Philippines today (April 3). General Manuel T. Yan, Military Adviser for the Philippines and Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines, chaired the conference. The Philippines Secretary of National Defence, the Honourable Juan Ponce Enrile, opened proceedings with a statement in which he reiterated the full support of the Philippines to SEATO. He expressed the hope that the organization will continue to be a strong shield for all freedom-loving peoples in the region.

The military advisers emphasized the need to sustain and increase the military effectiveness of SEATO in the face of increasing Communist subversion, insurgency and open aggression in the Treaty area, which they agreed could be counteracted by a free world organization firmly resolved to stand together. They also agreed that military co-operation in SEATO continues to be most effective.

Vietcong incursions

The Secretary-General, Lieutenant General Jesus Vargas, addressed the military advisers on political developments in the Treaty area. He warned of the danger to the area should the situation in Cambodia worsen as a result of increased incursion by North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces. He also expressed concern over North Vietnam's continuing violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos.

General Vargas described steps recently taken within the Organization to improve its capability to assist member countries to counter subversion and referred to the need for a co-ordinated effort in this field.

The United Kingdom Military Adviser, Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton, recalled the statement made by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs at the last Council Meeting that the United Kingdom intends to remain a member of SEATO after the withdrawal of British Forces from Singapore and Malaysia in December, 1971.

In this context, he announced that after 1971 the United Kingdom will continue to be represented on the same scale as at present on the permanent military staff of SEATO Headquarters.

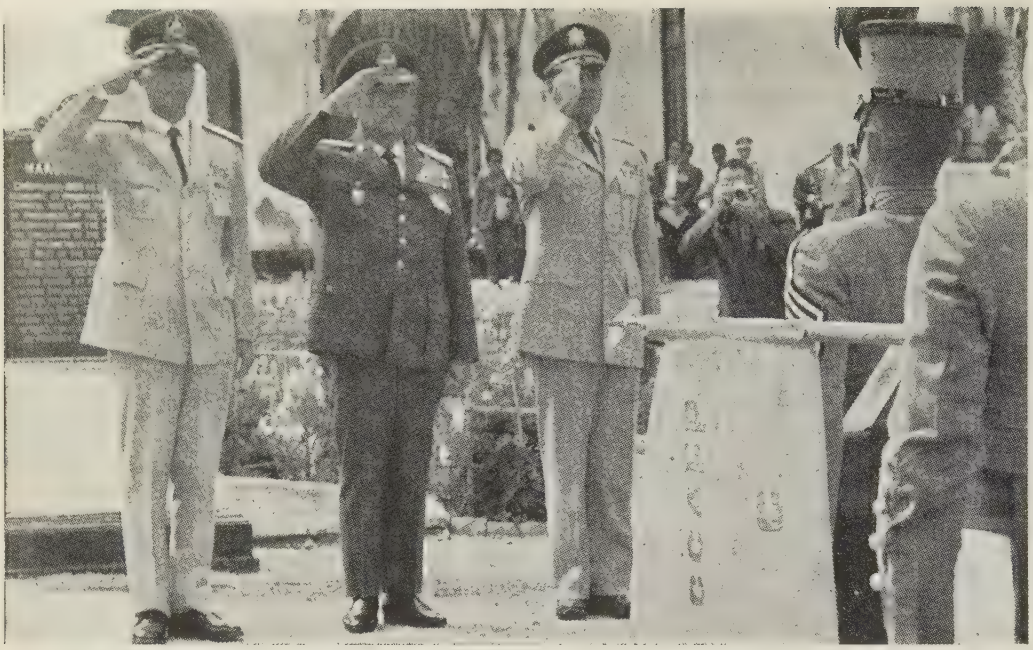
Communist aggression

In his presentation, Admiral John S. McCain, Jr., United States Military Adviser, emphasized SEATO's growing importance in the light of recent Communist aggression in Laos and the continuing violation of Cambodian neutrality. He briefed conference members on the progress achieved in modernizing the Armed Forces of the Republic of South Vietnam. Admiral McCain said that since Tet 1968 the enemy had been defeated in every significant engagement.

As a result, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese had abandoned large scale engagements for small unit terrorist assaults and stand off fire attacks. Despite the massive Communist effort to re-supply their forces the South Vietnamese and free world forces were capable of meeting the current threat in the Republic of Vietnam.

The Military Adviser for Thailand, Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, described to conference members the nature and scope of the Communist terrorists movement in Thailand and the external support it receives. He said that while Communist terrorists had been more active in the north, north-

➡



● *The SEATO Military Adviser for Thailand, Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya (centre) receives military honours on his arrival at The Mansion, Baguio City. On the left is the Philippines Military Adviser, General Manuel T. Yan, with the Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, Major-General Autrey J. Maroun on the right.*

COMMUNIQUE:

east and in southern Thailand, the actions taken by the Royal Thai Government were preventing them from increasing their areas of operation.

Air Chief Marshal Dawee said that Communist terrorist activities in Thailand would diminish provided that the deteriorating situation in Laos, which already posed a serious threat to Thailand's security, was contained.

General Yan briefed the military advisers on the insurgent and subversive situation in the Philippines. He dealt with the fragmentation of the local Communist movement and their widely divergent tactical policies. He likewise presented the two-fold integrated socio-economic and military approach being adopted by the Philippines Government to meet the local Communist threat.

He pointed out the encouraging results of the Armed Forces of the Philippines civic action operations and wholehearted support of the people in the affected areas as reflected in the successful organization of Barrio Home Defence Force units in Central Luzon. He concluded that the situation was within manageable proportions, and that the Armed Forces of the Philippines could deal effectively with the internal threat to national security.

Following a report by the Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, Major-General Autrey J. Maroun, on the work carried out by SEATO Military Planning Office since the last conference in Bangkok, the military advisers reviewed the SEATO military defensive plans in the light of the current threat.

They gave direction to the Military Planning Office for the tasks to be carried out before the next meeting. They also noted that Major General Maroun, United States, would be succeeded, by Major General R. McK Paterson, New Zealand, on July 1, 1970. General Paterson attended the conference as observer.

The Military Advisers noted that SEATO Maritime Exercise SEA ROVER was being held in the South China Sea from March 23 to April 9. They approved an Exercise Schedule for 1970-1972 and Exercise Forecast for 1972-1975.

Military advisers expressed satisfaction with the progress made through SEATO exercises in refining the SEATO defensive plans for the Treaty area and in further developing practical military co-operation. They also agreed that the exercises demonstrated SEATO's readiness and capability to act as a unified force.

They said that the regular presence of SEATO multi-national forces in the region has, over the years, been a considerable deterrent to major aggression while at the same time providing reassurance to the free nations of South-East Asia of SEATO's determination to resist Communist aggression.

The Military Advisers agreed to hold their next meeting in Honolulu during October, 1970.

INSTABILITY CONTINUES AFTER 20 YEARS OF COMMUNIST RULE

MAO FAILS TO TAME THE REBELLIOUS TIBETANS

COMMUNISTS, in explaining their political theories, argue that the Communist system is superior to any other and that people who have the opportunity to live under such a system soon learn to recognize this superiority.

Yet today after 20 years in Tibet, the instability which Communist China has brought to the mainland itself persists in Tibet, which in some cases is resisting Peking by force of arms. Communist Chinese radio broadcasts speak of "rebellion" and "anarchy" in the land that is now called the Tibet Autonomous Region of China. The presence of anarchy is not confined to Tibet, and Chinese radio talks of anarchy in many areas of China.

But the Chinese were hoping to make a Communist showcase of Tibet, a country long isolated and heavily veiled by the mysteries of Lama Buddhism. What China did was to bring to Tibet all of the problems of the mainland and to mix them with natural problems that a backward mountain theocracy would have which knows little of modern economics and is suddenly confronted by strange Communist economic theories and contending mainland factions.

'Big traitor'

Thus in Tibet after these 20 years of Chinese care, the *Lhasa Radio*, recently spoke of the "big traitor, renegade, and scab," meaning Liu Shao-chi. *Lhasa Radio* claims that there are a few followers of Liu Shao-chi today even though his position as Head of State in China has collapsed. Chinese Communist radio broadcasts also admit that the ideas of Liu are far from eliminated, even in remote Tibet.

Communist China, beset with difficulties in its provinces, set up Revolutionary Committees throughout China and in Tibet. These committees are designed to carry on the government and revolutionary dialectic of "Mao Tse-tung Thought." Even *Lhasa Radio* is forced to concede that there are people in Tibet who oppose the Revolutionary Committee and also Mao Tse-tung Thought. There are Chinese in the rest of China who do the same.

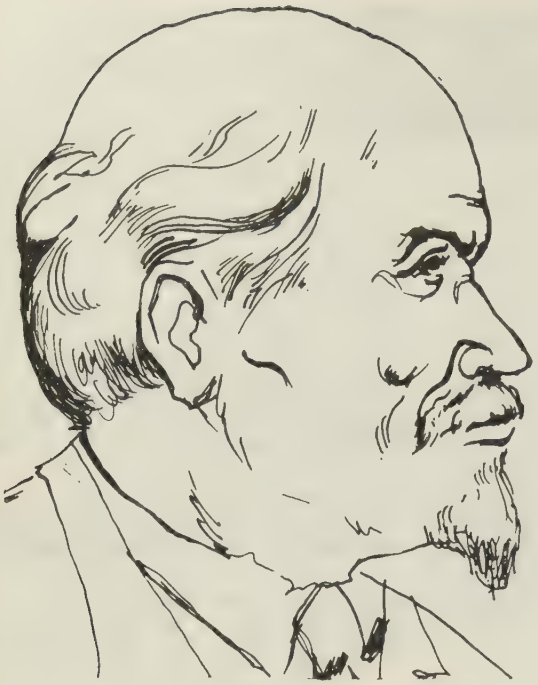
Lhasa Radio reported on trouble at the Tibetan national college. Here the factionalism was blamed, as is often the case, on class enemies, on bourgeois elements. All such opposition was determined to be special agents and capitalist-roaders. But the dissenters do exist despite their names.

The college in Tibet was said also to have had uninformed rightist elements in the administration. Naturally, such counterrevolutionary individuals must be "liberated" by believers in correct Communism.

Reactionary pamphlets are even said to have been found in Tibet and fighting between factions is reported. Thus, there is continuing unrest in this isolated land.

Despite Communist claims of a superior and easily recognized efficient mode of government, many Tibetans—and they have had little experience with modern governmental theory—seem instantly to realize that the system of Communism and the imposition of the Chinese will on the Tibetan people is something that is not wanted in Tibet by all Tibetans.

After 20 years of Communist rule neither Mao's China nor Mao's Tibet has been stabilized.



V.I. Lenin: 1870-1970

A SAYING TO FIT EVERY OCCASION

THE centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (April 22, 1870), creator of the Soviet Communist Party and founder of the Soviet State, is being celebrated in the Soviet Union.

For Communists, Lenin is the supreme ideological arbiter and authority; his writings are the article of the true faith. The extreme flexibility of Leninism makes it possible for Communist leaders to justify any policy by seizing a suitable quotation from among Lenin's many pronouncements.

Indeed Lenin himself was an unprincipled political operator and his writings are full of gaping inconsistencies and ruthless dogma. Every Communist leader looks back to Lenin for guidance in solving his problems and understanding the world.

Perhaps that was why the Russians and their Communist allies invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, for had not Lenin said—

> "The interests of the democracy of one country must be subordinated to the interests of the democracy of several and of all countries."
>
> (Works, 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 22, p. 330 (1916)

But then Lenin also said—

> "Can a nation be free if it oppresses other nations? It cannot."
>
> (Complete Collected Works, 5th Russian Edition, Vol. 25, p. 276, 1914)

THE RUTHLESS DOGMA OF LENIN

● **The following quotations are taken from Lenin's works published both before and after the Russian Revolution of October, 1917—**

RELIGION

"Every religious idea, every idea of God, even irting with the idea of God, is unutterable vileness... fillions of sins, filthy deeds, acts of violence and **hysical** *contagions... are far less dangerous than the* **ubtle** *spiritual idea of a God decked out in the smartest ideological" costumes... Every defence or justification f the idea of God, even the most refined, the best ntentioned, is a justification of reaction."*

Works, 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 35, pp. 89-90 and 93 (1913).

"Marxism is materialism. As such, it is mercilessly hostile to religion... We must combat religion—that is the rudiment of all materialism and consequently of Marxism. But...Marxism goes further. It says: We must know how to combat religion, and in order to do so we must explain the source of faith and religion among the masses materialistically. The fight against religion must not be confined to abstract ideological preaching, or reduced to such preaching. The fight must be linked up with the concrete practical work of the class movement, which aims at eliminating the social roots of religion."

Complete Collected Works, 5th Russian Edition, Vol. 17, p. 418 (1909).

REVOLUTION AND VIOLENCE

"The substitution of the roletarian State for the bourgeois tate is impossible without a vioent revolution."

Works, 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 25, p 373 (August-September, 1917).

"We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so."

Complete Collected Works, 5th Russian Edition, Vol. 5, p. 7 (1901).

"The revolutionary army is needed because great historical questions can be solved only by violence..."

Works, 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 8, p. 527 (1905).

DEMOCRACY-SOVIET STYLE

"We don't need any opposition now, Comrades, 's not the time for it... There is no need for opposiion, Comrades. And I believe that the Party Congress vill have to draw the conclusion that the time has come o put an end to opposition, to put the lid on it; we ave had enough opposition.

Works, 3rd Russian Edition, Vol. 26, p. 222 (1921)

"...great historical questions can be solved only y violence, and the organization of violence in the odern struggle is a military organization."

Works, 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 8, p. 527 (1905).

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

"It is possible to conquer the more powerful enemy only by exerting the utmost effort, and... by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally may be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."

Works, 4th Russian Edition, Vol. 31, p. 52 (1920).

"We should be very poor revolutionaries if, in the great proletarian war for emancipation and Socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against each separate disaster caused by imperialism, in order to sharpen and extend the crisis."

Complete Collected Works, 5th Russian Edition, Vol. 30, p. 56 (1916).

A NEW LOOK PEACE CORPS FOR 1970s

THE U.S. Peace Corps, which had sent about 42,000 Americans to aid developing nations since it was chartered in 1961, was entering upon a decade that would see many changes, it was stated in Washington.

Mr. Joseph Blatchford, Corps Director, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 10 that although "the core of the Peace Corps concept" was being retained, "new aspects are being added."

Mr. Blatchford, who appeared before the committee in support of the Corps' 98.8 million dollar budget request for the next fiscal year, outlined five major areas of change.

- For the first time in four years, the number of requests from foreign governments for volunteers had gone up as these governments "see new possibilities for using volunteers." Requests for farm specialists had doubled For skilled technicians, the demand had tripled.
- There was a "wider diversity of Americans" in the Corps. Applications from those over 30 years of age was up 60 per cent, those in vocational education up 50 per cent, and intern programmes bringing more Negroes and Mexican-Americans into the Corps.
- The Corps was moving toward a type of planning which would enable American volunteers to get into a project for a limited number of years, "train local citizens to take over and then pull the Americans out."
- In line with President Nixon's support of an international corps of volunteers, the U.S. Peace Corps "this year will be assigning volunteers to work for international organizations and to start joint projects with other volunteer-sending agencies, principally European." An example of international co-operation already planned called for Peace Corps volunteers in Thailand to work with volunteers from Canada, Austria and Britain to bring water to farmers from the Mekong River development project.
- Both U.S. business and labour were engaged in a co-operative effort to recruit new volunteers from American industries. And a "strong national advisory council" to the Corps was being assembled under the chairmanship of astronaut Neil Armstrong.

Despite these changes the basic concept of the Corps—Americans living at a modest level, speaking the local language and working with the people—was being retained "and in fact re-emphasized."

2nd. ASIAN HIGHWAY RALLY IN OCTOBER

THE Second Asian Highway Motor Rally, 1970, will be held from October, 3-12. The 4,000-mile route, starting from Teheran, will run through Kabul, Islamabad, New Delhi, Kathmandu and Calcutta, and end in Dacca.

The rally has been organized under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and the Asian Highway Transport Technical Bureau (TTB), with the co-operation of the governments of Afghanistan, India, Iran, Nepal and Pakistan.

Only cars can enter the 1970 rally, whereas the first rally, held in April, 1969, between Vientiane (Laos) and Singapore, was also open to buses and trucks.

The event will be a reliability test for motor vehicles, rather than a race. The provisional regulations state: "The purpose of the rally is to provide a driving event of international prominence in Asia while at the same time dramatizing the fact that the Asian Highway is a reality, ready to serve the economies of the countries through which it runs."

Australia charmed by Royal Thai Ballet

THE Royal Thai Ballet's first visit to Australia began in Western Australia at the 1970 summer Festival of Perth. Praise could not have been more lavish.

"Glimmering head dresses and materials resplendent with intricately wrought patterns of brilliants made the major dance drama offering an experience of visual richness unequalled in Perth theatre in recent years," wrote the music and ballet critic of the State's morning paper, *THE WEST AUSTRALIAN.*

"Yet this is only part of the company's art," the critic added. "The dancers themselves —especially the women—are beautiful and their highly stylised dance is executed with lithe sinuosity and extreme dignity of bearing."

The critic said that people who knew only Western dance would probably have to acquire a taste for Thai ballet. But the performance was so rewarding that the season would undoubtedly prove to be one of the most popular of the festival.

The first week's programme consisted of the Alphabet Dance, Candle and Golden Finger Nail Dances of northern Thailand, Sword Fighting, Ram See Nuan or Dance of the Courtiers, the lively Soeng Katip Khao of north-eastern Thailand and the Episode of the Abduction of Sita.

The second week's programme featured the dance drama, Manohara. Altogether, the Royal Thai Ballet gave 11 performances during the festival.

Public relations officer Dr. Manaspas Xuto said that both Perth's reception and the city itself had delighted the company of 40 dancers.

ACTION SOUGHT ON RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY COMMUNISTS

THE United States has called for "appropriate action" by the United Nations Human Rights Commission to deal with human rights violations against Jews in the Soviet Union, Tibetans in Communist China and political prisoners in Cuba.

The plight of these people was raised by U.S. Representative, Mrs. Rita E. Hauser, on March 17 in the commission's discussion of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The commission has an obligation to review such violations wherever they occur and take appropriate action, she said.

Mrs. Hauser urged that the Soviet Union ensured the rights of all its minorities, particularly the three million Soviet Jews whose cultural and religious identity had been suppressed.

She said the United States could not understand the Soviet Government policy precluding emigration of Soviet Jews who had families or cultural ties elsewhere.

She cited a recent article in the Soviet Communist party paper, PRAVDA, about anti-Semitism in Communist countries and said acknowledgement of the problem was the first step in finding a solution.

Mrs. Hauser joined the delegate of India in deploring the attempts by Communist China to eliminate the vestiges of the rich cultural heritage of the Tibetan people.

The U.S. delegate also deplored the indecent treatment of political prisoners in Cuba and the refusal of the Cuban Government to allow the International Red Cross or Amnesty International to look into the condition of these prisoners.

ASEAN urged: 'Be outward-looking'

AN appeal for outward-looking policies in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was made in Bangkok on March 16 by U Nyun, the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).

U Nyun was welcoming delegates to the first session of the Advisory Committee set up by ASEAN to supervise a major two-year economic analysis of the five member States—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

The study, to be carried out by teams of economic experts from ECAFE and other United Nations organizations, will present a general economic survey of the ASEAN States and will also report on specific areas where closer economic co-operation could be launched.

These fields include trade, industry, agriculture, transport and communications and tourism.

5 NEW MEKONG PROJECTS

CAMBODIA, LAOS AND THAILAND TO BENEFIT

FIVE new undertakings in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia will be carried out as part of the over-all Mekong development project, with aid from New Zealand, Philippines, United Kingdom and United States, as a result of agreements signed at the Mekong co-ordinating committee's recent session in Phnom Penh.

The agreements call for activities relating to agriculture, fisheries, mineral resources, manpower training, navigation, social needs and other aspects of development. Responsibilities will be shared, under most of the agreements, by the assisting governments, the committee, and the Mekong Secretariat.

In **Thailand**, the undertakings will entail apprenticeship training at a boat building centre at Nong Khai, and a study of socio-economic aspects of fisheries in the Nam Pong reservoir. In **Cambodia,** there will be a demonstration of the use of fertilizer, and a survey in the Battambang area. **Laos** will be aided with mapping and interpretation following a mineral survey.

In another ceremony held at the committee session (February 9-13), photomosaic maps of several difficult stretches of the Mekong River in Laos were presented by representatives of New Zealand and the Philippines, which had helped in a project designed to aid in planning of navigation improvements.

Members of the Mekong Committee—Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam—were present at the ceremonies, together with representatives of the donor countries, the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Mekong Secretariat.

The projects for which various types of agreements were signed are:

Apprenticeship training at Nong Khai Boatbuilding Training Centre, Thailand:

A plan of operation provides for aid from the United Kingdom, under the Colombo Plan, in a training centre at Nong Khai, Thailand, which will foster instruction in boatbuilding and related trades. The centre will provide training for 60 to 80 apprentices in the early years, and 100 later on, under the four-year project. Thailand and the United Kingdom will share in total financing estimated at some 14 million baht (about $ 700,000).

The plan of operation for the project comments that the Mekong Committee's programme has included, as part of over-all work, river navigation improvement in fields such as hydrography, channel marking, bank protection, ports and harbours, river craft, pilot training, bridges and transport surveys. "Much attention is given to the deep-felt need for skilled labour in boatbuilding, craft maintenance and repairs and, in a more general way, in all related trades," the paper states.

The new centre will make it possible to build up "a core of qualified skilled labour", the document comments. Construction of the physical facilities is under way.

Socio-economic aspects of fisheries in the Nam Pong area, Thailand:

Following up a plan of operation signed earlier this year, a letter of understanding was signed in Phnom Penh by a representative of the United States and the Mekong Committee's Acting Executive Agent providing for a study of economic and social aspects of fishery operations at the Nam Pong reservoir. With a cash grant from the United States, the committee will employ a Thai social anthropologist to make the study, which is expected to take a year.

The reservoir was created by construction of the Nam Pong dam, in Thailand—one of the priority projects in the Mekong Committee's over-all programme. It has yielded a fish crop valued at some $500,000 annually, the committee's annual report for 1969 states.

Survey in Battambang area, Cambodia:

A contract between the Mekong Committee and a Philippines company provides for a survey of the

➡

MEKONG PROJECTS

prospective reservoir area of the Battambang multi-purpose tributary project in western cambodia, as a contribution of the Philippines. It will cover some 5,000 hectares of land.

Fertilizer demonstration in relation to Prek Thnot project, Cambodia:

A plan of operation provides for a supply of chemical fertilizer to be provided from the New Zealand Freedom from Hunger Campaign chapter, over a three-year period, to promote use of such fertilizer by farmers participating in agricultural demonstrations related to the Prek Thnot power and irrigation project west of Phnom Penh.

The plan of operation comments that the Mekong Committee has given special attention to irrigated agricultural development in the basin and has established five experimental and demonstration farms—including the one in the Prek Thnot tributary area—to help farmers learn to make most efficient use of irrigation facilities when they become available.

The document cites the need for fertilizer for demonstration purposes at the Prek Thnot farm, first for rice and later for other crops such as vegetables, corn and ground nuts. New Zealand's contribution will include, in part, super-phosphates and, in part, cash to permit purchase of other fertilizers or raw materials.

Minerals survey, Laos:

Under another plan of operation, the United Kingdom will provide two experienced photo-geologists for approximately three years to carry out regional photo-geological mapping of the northern half of Laos as part of the Mekong Committee's efforts to survey mineral resources in the basin. The experts will work on the basis of aerial photographs supplied by the committee—resulting from previous work—and will provide field checking in key areas later, if possible.

Photomosaic Maps Prepared as Navigation Aid:

In another ceremony at the Phnom Penh meeting, the representatives of New Zealand and the Philippines handed over to the Laotian member of the committee a set of aerial photographs of difficult stretches of the Mekong River between Vientiane and Luang Prabang.

The maps were prepared by a Philippines firm and paid for out of the New Zealand Contingency Fund. By treating the work as an emergency project and using money from the fund, it was possible to undertake the photographic work without delay in the 1969/70 dry season and save almost one year.

Closer regional ties in social welfare sought

RECOMMENDATIONS seeking closer regional co-operation in the field of social welfare in-service training will be made in the final report of a United Nations workshop on social welfare which concluded its final phase in Manila on March 6.

The workshop, which opened in Bangkok on February, 10 and later carried out study tours in Hong Kong and the Philippines, was organized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Participants were present from Ceylon, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of Vietnam, Singapore and Thailand.

After the opening phase in Bangkok (February 10-17) the 27 participants travelled to Hong Kong, where they observation tours of in-service trianing programmes in governmental and voluntary agencies.

Completing their Hong Kong programme on February 25, the participants continued their study tour in the Philippines where they visited rural areas, examining social welfare programmes at first hand.

Recommendations call for the holding of similar study tours on social welfare every two years in the ECAFE region; a regional clearing house for information and teaching materials; study tours for top administrators in social welfare; the granting of periodic scholarships by Asian nations to their neighbouring countries; a fuller exchange of teachers in the social welfare field; and establishment of a regional body to co-ordinate programmes in the field of social welfare training.

Speaking at the closing session, Gregorio Feliciano, Secretary of the Social Welfare Department of the Philippines, endorsed the proposal for further study workshops in the region.

'THE HUMAN FACTOR'

IT'S VITAL TO THE SUCCESS OF NATIONAL PLANNING

THE need for more detailed attention to the "human factor" in national development planning is stressed in a review of the Asian social situation before the April 14-27 session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) in Bangkok.

The study is the fifth since 1965 in a series of social surveys of the ECAFE region aimed at providing member nations with a continuing review of social conditions.

While acknowledging industrial and agricultural progress, the review points up current and emerging social problems—in particular the continuing gap between rich and poor, the disillusionment of educated Asian youth and a critical situation in urban slums.

The ECAFE study questions the current emphasis on economic targets in development planning, without due regard to social factors, and urges the need for research to develop a co-ordinated approach to economic and social planning.

The survey first reviews the contemporary social situation in Asia in the light of population growth, living standards and general economic development. It then examines national government strategies and planning machinery and finally puts forward a series of guidelines for improved integration of development planning.

INCREASED POPULATION

Reporting increased population growth in most countries of the region, the study describes the salient characteristics of the regional population as "its immense size, its rapid overall rate of growth, its youthfulness and its predominantly rural locality".

It adds: "For the entire region the age group 0-14 years alone totals roughly 1,000 million, or well over a quarter of all humanity." Although the bulk of the population still lives in rural areas, the ECAFE study points out that "numerically speaking, however, Asia is by far the most urbanised region, since by 1970 its total population in localities of 20,000 or more will amount to 370 million, or more than the entire populations of Africa, or Latin America or North America."

In a review of levels of living, the report says; "By economic standards, Asia is still the poorest of the developing regions." Excluding the national income of Japan, which accounts for nearly a third of all regional production, the average per capita income for the remainder of Asia is estimated at around US$100.

The ECAFE study strikes a sceptical note in assessing improved national economic growth rates since 1966.

ILLUSORY ELEMENT

After citing examples of expansion, the study observes: "It is, however, quite possible that the growth rates are over-stated for several of the developing countries where, as the flow and quality of basic data improve, there is a tendency to classify as 'new' certain long-established, but previously unrecorded economic activities, thus contributing an illusory element of growth to the national balance sheets."

The report also examines disparities of wealth in both urban and rural areas and suggests that these are tending to increase in all but a few developing Asian countries.

Describing the emergence of a new "social pyramid" built around rising upper middle classes of bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and professionals, the ECAFE paper raises the question of "whether these 'new elites' have the commitment and will to lead broad movements of democratisation which would draw the inert masses actively into the development process". It adds that "the economic advantage enjoyed by the new upper middle-class elites does not greatly encourage hopes that they will enter easily into such a leadership role". ➡

'THE HUMAN FACTOR'

Further reviewing the role of leadership in planning, the survey says: "...the rising vigour of proletarian demands and the apparent inability of the elites to adjust spontaneously to such demands foreshadow a future of sharpening political polarisation and conflict.

"Prospects of development in this direction are heightened by the increasingly militant opposition to the political, economic and social *status quo* being expressed by large segments of educated youth, especially university students."

The study expresses belief that educated youth —coming increasingly from lower middle-class backgrounds as a result of the rapid expansion of educational enrolments—"may eventually supply the mass leadership which has not so far been forthcoming from the more privileged elites".

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Reviewing governmental strategies in the field of social development, the ECAFE study says that "while the productive potential of the 'green revolution' is theoretically almost limitless", there is evidence to indicate that participation has been limited to relatively prosperous farmers, and that its benefits have excluded large numbers of poor cultivators and landless labourers.

Referring to what it describes as the "crisis of urbanisation", the report points to the urgency of properly co-ordinated regional development plans and notes increasing official interest in these concepts.

It cites the example of Thailand's Regional Planning Centre, set up to co-ordinate integrated development plans in the 15 northeast provinces, as a "particularly interesting initiative in this direction".

The review finds that while the importance of capitalising on human resources (as well as material and financial resources) is widely accepted, the content of human resource development scarcely goes beyond co-ordinating educational and manpower planning and takes little account of the need for general improvement in levels of living and in the social, economic and institutional environment.

Underlining the lack of organised facilities in most developing Asian countries for policy-oriented research on the "non-economic" aspects of development, the study calls for urgent improvement in the institutional exchange of knowledge and research in social science.

The study reports growing appreciation of the significance of social progress for economic growth and observes that social justice should be an integral goal of all development policies. It adds: "In particular, the need for major efforts to reduce the glaring inequities of income distribution, which characterise most Asian countries, is beginning to be viewed as a central issue in the quest for social justice."

In this connexion, the report notes that at its fifth session in Bangkok last year the United Nations Committee on Development Planning strongly emphasised the "practical necessity of basing development strategies upon objectives of equity, and not only those of economic growth".

Underlining the need for more popular mass participation in development, the ECAFE study says socio-economic reforms and new directions in leadership are expecially necessary if young people are to be mobilised. It continues: "The growing restiveness by educated Asian youth stems from even deeper causes than the young people's concern over their own uncertain prospects for employment and personal advancement. Asian youth protest movements (like those in the economically advanced countries) seem to be concerned with the advancement of demands for broad social, economic and political reforms."

The report comments: "Youth programmes now being hastily organised in Asian countries do not seem very likely to make articulate young people more tractable to the wishes of authority, especially as the programmes in question are to all intents and purposes designed and imposed by adults alone.

"Educated Asian youth indeed, tends to react vigorously against suggestions that they should participate in the implementation of planned development, unless they are also encouraged to take part in the processes of development policy and decision-making, and unless the credentials of adult leadership measure up reasonably well with youthful standards of commitment and idealism."

TEN NATIONS REPRESENTED AT AUSTRALIAN TRADE COURSE

TEN nations were represented at an international training course in trade promotion which opened in Canberra in March. This was the largest national representation to have attended such a course since the first was held in 1961.

Countries represented were Cambodia, India, Iran, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. The course was sponsored by the Colombo Plan and ended on April 8.

The 13 course members visited Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne. The course covered a wide range of activities from Australia's trade relations, its policies and types of agreements, to on-the-spot inspections of Australian port facilities.

At the opening of the conference, the Assistant Secretary in charge of external aid activities in the Australian Department of External Affairs, Mr. R.B. Spratt, said that in terms of aid per head of population Australia's help to overseas countries was among the highest in the world.

Australian aid had climbed from $A5,000,000 in 1950 to $A160,000,000 in 1969. "Overall about half this amount goes to Papua-New Guinea where Australia believes we have a special responsibility," Mr. Spratt said.

He said Australian aid was moving towards self-help programmes. International training programmes were an important aspect of this work. "We feel these give us the opportunity to know and understand one another better," Mr. Spratt said.

There will be 22 such training courses conducted in Australia this year.

Officially opening the course, Mr. S.J. Maliphant, Assistant Secretary of the Export Promotions Branch, Department of Trade and Industry, said that more than 50 government officials and 30 businessmen from overseas countries had attended similar trade promotion courses since their inauguration.

SEATO ECONOMIC EXPERTS MEET

● *The meeting of SEATO's Expert Study Group on the organization's Economic Programme ended its 10-day meeting on February 27. The group, representing Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States, undertook an overall review of SEATO economic activities and has made recommendations regarding future policy. SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas said the organization's economic role was of great importance. Pictured below presenting the report of the group to General Vargas is Mr. B.A. Tarlton of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom, who was Chairman of the group. At right is Mr. Robert Hyslop, SEATO Deputy Secretary-General. Others are from left: Mr. Howell (New Zealand), Mr. Snidvongs (Thailand), Mr. Smith (United States), Mr. J.C. Humphreys and Mr. J.V.R. Hearder (Australia), and Mr. S.M.H. Rizvi, SEATO Director of Cultural and Economic Affairs.*

REGIONAL CO-OPERATION NEEDED TO SOLVE RICE PROBLEMS

REPRESENTATIVES of 15 nations interested in Asian rice production and trading, meeting in Bangkok, arrived at a consensus that there is a need for regional co-operation to cope with problems in the industry.

This is stated in a report adopted at the close of intergovernmental consultations on rice held at the headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) from February 26 to March 9.

The report says the consultations recognized "the vital importance of rice in the economy of Asian countries,... the volatility of the rice situation and the uncertainties now confronting both the rice-surplus and rice-deficit countries of the region".

The meeting considered various forms of approach to these problems, and the report sets out some guidelines for regional co-operation and possible organizational and trading arrangements.

The meeting requested the Executive Secretary of ECAFE, U Nyun, to transmit its report to member governments to obtain their views on the various approaches discussed in it.

The consultations were attended by representatives from Australia, Brunei, Ceylon, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Republic of Korea, Republic of Vietnam and Thailand. Representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) also attended.

The report reviews the current rice situation, discusses important problems of the Asian rice economy and goes on to outline possible approaches to regional co-operation and regional action on these problems.

At the closing session which approved the report on the intergovernmental consultations, delegates stressed that, since the meeting had been at the expert level only, no firm decisions had been taken.

The report says: "Several delegates strongly emphasised that any scheme in regional co-operation on rice should be in the broad context of regional economic co-operation and an integral part of ECAFE's Asian Trade Liberalisation and Development Programme, including the Regional Payments Arrangement."

It continues: "In view of the urgent and complicated nature of the rice problem and the impact it has on the economy of the countries of this region, some delegates felt that the search for acceptable measures dealing specifically with the stabilisation of the rice trade... should be attempted without waiting for the completion of ECAFE's Trade Liberalisation Programme and that member governments may consider the adoption of a suitable work programme."

It adds however: "It was pointed out by others that in view of the progress of work indicated by the secretariat on the Trade Liberalisation and Development Programme, it should be possible to consider at an early date any rice arrangements in the context of the above programme."

Suggested approaches

Possible approaches to rice trade problems suggested at the meeting included:

- Trading arrangements for bringing about orderliness and expansion in intra-regional trade;
- Buffer stocks for the stabilization of supply, prices and trade,
- Payments arrangements and trade liberalisation,
- Stimulation of consumption in, and export promotion with, countries outside the ECAFE region, and
- Other approaches including plan harmonization, improving the efficiency of rice production and marketing.

Items in Brief

After seven years with SEATO public Information Office as its TV/Radio Officer, Mrs. Madeleine C. Meyer, of the United States, has been assigned to Voice of America in Washington, D.C. She left Bangkok in April after making official tours of regions in Thailand and the Philippines. She is succeeded by Mr. Michael Brown, formerly of US Information Service in Thailand

Mr. John D. Orr of the United Kingdom, SEATO Publications Officer, left Bangkok this month at the conclusion of his term of duty. Mr. Orr, who has been succeeded by Mr. Peter Moss, also of the United Kingdom, will be serving with the Consulate-General in Johannesburg as Vice Consul (Information).

Military movements at SEATO HQ:

Office of the U.S. Military Adviser's representative —YNC. Wendell, L. Bailey, USN. (Administration NCO) to Sea duty in the Mediterranean. He is succeeded by YNCS. P. Vandecar, USN.

M/Sgt. Robert E. Thomas, USAF (Administration Asst.) to Blythesville, AFB Arkansas. USA. He is succeeded by SSgt. John W. Thomas Jr., USAF. From JUSMAG-MAGTHAI, Bangkok.

Military Planning office—SFC Marion M. Gentkowski, US Army, to Fort Belvoir, Virginia, Instructor at the Engineer School. He is succeeded by SFC. John E. Desautels, US Army from Fort Belvoir, Virginia, 30th Engineer Topo Battalion. (All of them served at SEATO MPO 2 years).

Office of the Philippines Military Adviser's representative—M/Sgt Felipe D. Alolino, PC. to Philippine Armed Forces Heaquarters. He is succeeded by M/Sgt Juan R. Olivares, PC. from Philippine Armed Forces Headquarters.

●

Mr. Michael Lazarides, a plant taxonomist of the Division of Land Research, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO), Canberra, has been awarded a SEATO Fellowship for research on "Taxonomic studies in Tropical Grasses" in the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia for a period of four months from February 1 to May 31, 1970.

●

At the request of the Royal Thai Government, the Australian Army has sent a three-men advisory team to assist the Thai Armed Forces Rebuild Workshop, near Bangkok, on an extensive programme to rebuild vehicle being provided to Thailand under the United States Military Aid Programme.

The workshop was established in 1963 by the Australian and Thai Governments through SEATO and although for the last three years it has been run by the Thai Armed Forces advisors and equipment were sought from Australian to cope with the new programme.

MR. F.G.B. Keen, a Research Fellow from New Zealand under the 1969-70 SEATO Fellowship Programme, lecturing on "Upland Land-Use in North Thailand, Trends and Prospects" at SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok on March 30.

Attending the lecture were officials of Thailand's National Security Command, the Ministry of Agriculture and other government agencies concerned with the problem of land use and development. SEATO officials were also present.

A teacher of geography at Mana College, Wellington, New Zealand, Mr. Keen carried out research in the vicinity of the Land Settlement Station at Doi Mussur in N.W. Tak Province, Thailand. from 1963-64. His research covered the Blue Meo, Black Lahu and Lisu hill tribes and was undertaken under the auspices of the Volunteer Service Abroad Inc. of New Zealand.

Mr. Keen's SEATO Fellowship ended on April 7 when he returned to New Zealand. His project was "Research on the Man-Land Relationship of the Upland People of North Thailand"

On your Bookshelf

Books added recently to the SEATO Library include the following:

ABDUL RAHMAN. May 13: before and after. Kuala Lumpur, Utusan Melayu Press, 1969. 207p., illus. 959.5

BARANOV, I. *editor* The Ulyanov family. Translated from the Russian. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1968. 132p., illus. 920

CAMPDEN-MAIN, Simon M. A field guide to the snakes of South Vietnam, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1970. v, 114p. 598.12

CH'U CHAI. The Changing society of China, by Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai. New York, New American Library, 1969.

CORPUZ, Onofre D. The Philippines. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, viii, 149p. 991.4

LEWIS, Stephen R. Economic policy and industrial growth in Pakistan. London, Allen and Union, 1969. xiii, 191p. 338.9547

MCBRIDE, Glynn *and others* Socio economic survey of a union council in West Pakistan. Peshawar, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1966. 85p. 309.209547

THORPE, Elliott R. East wind, rain; the intimate account of an intelligence officer in the Pacific 1939-49. Boston, Gambit, 1969. xxi, 307p. 940.548

SEATO PUBLICATIONS

(The following publications may be obtained, on request, from the Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarter, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand.)

SEATO Annual Report 1968-69 (English,)—by Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas, Secretary-General of SEATO.

Story of SEATO (English, Thai) New Edition, 1969.
Information magazine on SEATO's Military and civil activities.

Manila Pact and Pacific Charter (revised 1968)
Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter, with explanatory notes.

Aspects of the History, Culture and Religions of Pakistan
Lectures by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi, as a travelling lecturer under the SEATO Cultural Programme.

Post-graduate Studies in Asian SEATO Countries
A guide for applicants for SEATO post-graduate scholarships.

Collective Security: Shield of Freedom (Revised, 1963)
The nature and scope of the various collective security pacts linking 41 nations of the Free World. Foreword by Mr. Pote Sarasin, former Secretary-General of SEATO. 165 pp.

Medical
Research into Disease—I (Revised): Cholera (Pakistan—SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory) in English and Thai.
Research into Disease—II: The Search for Health (SEATO medical projects in Thailand).
Research into Disease—III: Malaria (SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok) in English and Thai.

Community Development
Report of the SEATO Seminar on Community Development, July 19-23, 1965. In English and Thai.

The Role of Youth in Asia
Report of the SEATO Seminar on 'Youth's Response to Challenges in Asia', Feb. 13-17, 1967.

Skilled Workers for the Armed Forces (English, Thai)
A description of the SEATO Military Technical Training School, Bangkok.

Training Workers for Developing Industries (English, Thai)
An account of the SEATO Skilled Labour Project in Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Posters:
Better Communications for Better Living (English, Thai)
Skilled Hands for National Progress (English, Thai)
The Painter's View of his Country—I
Good Health Key to National Prosperity
Highway To Health (SEATO-Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca).
A Helping Hand On The Land (SEATO Agricultural Research Project).

Communist Economic Subversion: A Reappraisal
by Dr. Hans Heymann Jr. A discussion of the growing Communist reliance on economic measures as tools of foreign policy.

Peking on Revolution
Extracts from speeches and articles on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin indicating the demand for revolutionary uprising.

Defeating Communist Insurgency
by Sir Robert Thompson (Thai translation)

Radio Writers Handbook (English, Thai)
by Madeleine C. Meyer.

The Changing Face of Communism
A lecture in booklet form given at SEATO Headquarters by Douglas Hyde in May, 1968.

Security in Rural Areas
Two papers in booklet form presented by Douglas Hyde at a SEATO-sponsored seminar on internal security in rural areas held in Manila in May, 1968.

Buddhism in Thailand
By R. Bhavilai. A modern Thai's interpretation of Buddhism.

Printed by Sompong Chaicharoen at the Sompong Press Ltd. Part. 14/8 Pracharasdra Road, Bangkok, April 1970

LT. CMDR. CORMFO
USN, GOING ABO
HMAS MELBOURNE
HIGH-LINE (JACKST
DURING SEATO's REC
EXERCISE "SEA ROV